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ABSTRACT

This report to the Illinois Senate Committee on Higher Education assesses the extent to which students in metropolitan Chicago have real access to higher education and choice among postsecondary institutions. The chapters in part I address issues related to inequality in higher education in Chicago, providing analyses of the causes of inequality, the educational attainment of Chicago residents, the higher education institutions in the area, higher education enrollments, and graduation and attrition. Part II identifies patterns and causes of educational inequality, providing information on high school graduates' backgrounds, information, and college choices; the channelling of high school graduates to particular colleges; educational inequality among community colleges; choice and channelling among community colleges; student transfer between two- and four-year institutions; the impact of financial aid on access and choice in higher education; and the roles of teachers in the perpetuation of inequality. The final chapter in part II offers recommendations on high school preparation, curriculum, staffing, fiscal stability, requirements, counseling, school-college bridge programs, and financial aid policy changes. A six-page bibliography is included. (HB)

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THE CHICAGO STUDY OF ACCESS AND CHOICE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A Report to The Illinois Senate Committee on Higher Education

BY

Gary Orfield, Howard Mitzel, Tanya Austin, Richard Bentley, David Bice, Maeve Dwyer, Liette Gidlow, Julia Herschensohn, Barbara Hibino, Thomas Kelly, Ann Kuhns, Mimi Lee, Carla Rabinowitz, Joan Spoerl, Angela Vosnos, James Wolf

University of Chicago, Committee on
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report to the State Senate Committee on Higher Education assesses the extent to which students in metropolitan Chicago have real access to higher education and choice among institutions of higher education. It shows that there are extreme differences in levels of college education between Chicago and the suburbs and among community areas within Chicago. There is a strong relationship between race and income and the rate of college graduation. Both blacks and Hispanics rank below whites in all parts of the metropolitan area. Chicago's record compares very unfavorably with that of the nation's other largest urban areas in terms of education for Latinos. Within the city of Chicago the communities with the lowest college education levels are low-income black areas on the South Side, where the proportion of college graduates can be as little as a fiftieth that of the better educated city and suburban communities.

Patterns of enrollment show that students attend very different kinds of institutions depending on their part of the metropolitan area and their race. Minority students in the metropolitan area are very strongly dependent on the community colleges within the city, particularly the minority City College campuses while white students are much more likely to enroll in four-year institutions. The city's community colleges are the only part of the higher education system in Illinois that has been rapidly declining in enrollment. Chicago State University, the only predominantly black four-year institution in the state, has more black students than any other four-year institution. Declining access is apparent at the most highly rated public institution in the metropolitan area, the University of Illinois, Chicago where black enrollment fell 38% from 1979 to 1983.

Both Latinos and blacks have a substantially higher college dropout rate than whites and the rate of degree completion for all groups is very low at community colleges. Both the number and the percent of black students receiving B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees declined from 1975 to 1980. This was true both in Chicago and in the suburbs. The number of Latinos receiving degrees increased but the proportion of this very rapidly growing population finishing college was still far below that of blacks. Colleges showed sharply different attrition rates for minority students. For black students, only Roosevelt University had both a substantial black enrollment and a high completion rate.

The second part of the report is devoted to examining the evidence on many causes of the unequal college access and completion so apparent in the enrollment and graduation statistics. Its chapters on high school background show an extreme stratification of secondary education by race and income level and different educational programs and resources in different kinds of high schools. City high schools have fewer teachers per 1000 students, fewer counselors, fewer teachers in key pre-collegiate areas, and have had a decline in resources in recent years. The city schools have far more teachers who graduated from the area's least selective colleges and far fewer from the most demanding schools. City high school teachers are much less likely to have advanced degrees. Chicago has been able to hire very few new high school teachers in recent years because of its continual financial crisis. Within the city there are a number of high schools that do not offer a basic pre-collegiate curriculum and others that offer a wide range of academic courses. Those offering the least tend to serve student bodies that are virtually all-minority and all-poor.

All suburban schools supplying data had average achievement test scores at the national norm or higher, while the great majority of city high schools were far below, some with average achievement levels below the fifteenth percentile. The high school dropout rate in Chicago was 48%. It was much higher in low income all-minority schools. All parts of the suburban ring had much higher graduation rates. The Senior Survey conducted by the Chicago Public Schools showed that the students who did reach their senior year believed that they had received good educations and were planning to enroll in four-year colleges. In fact, however, they had often missed essential pre-collegiate training.

A survey of Illinois students showed that the high dropout rate in high schools is a key reason for the underrepresentation of blacks and Latinos in college. Those minority students who finish high school are as likely as whites to begin some college. Minority students rely more than whites on teachers and counselors and college and military recruiters in making up their minds about college, perhaps because many fewer have parents who are college graduates. Students who enroll in four-year rather than community colleges are vastly more likely to remain in college two years after high school. Hispanics have much less information about colleges and financial aid than whites and blacks. Lack of money is an important reason why students drop out of college.

Where students go to college in Chicago is strongly related to where they live. There is a particularly strong pattern of channeling from black neighborhoods to Chicago City Colleges. Each of the community colleges draws its students from a defined geographic area. Black students are segregated in colleges which draw almost all of their students from a handful of all-black Chicago neighborhoods. National statistics shows that the community colleges in Illinois are the nation's most segregated. The fundamental educational problem is that minority students in the Chicago area are strongly channeled into community colleges that have weak retention and transfer records.

The city community colleges serve the students with the most serious educational needs in the metropolitan area and are the key institutions for minority students' access to B.A. training. They, do however, provide less information to potential students, offer less of their advertised curriculum, spend less per student, transfer fewer of their students, and transfer students to less selective four-year colleges than their suburban counterparts. An out-of-district tuition system, which can raise the cost of attending a community college by 200% or more in metropolitan Chicago, is one of the institutional barriers that maintain segregation and inequality in the higher education system.

The level of financial aid available per student in Illinois has declined drastically in constant value dollars since the early 1970s and tuition levels in state universities, particularly the University of Illinois, have been soaring. The existing state financial aid system rations funds in ways that hurt low-income and minority students, particularly those attending community colleges. The policies assume an unrealistic level of student and family financial contribution, particularly in inner city neighborhoods where jobs for teenagers are virtually nonexistent. The program provides far more aid to the average student attending a private as opposed to a public college, though the private school student's family income is normally higher. It makes it impossible for students who do not know until late in the academic year whether they will be able to enroll to obtain aid and it works against those who can only study on a part-time basis.

Our research shows the flow of students across the metropolitan Chicago area through 229 high schools into and out of almost 60 colleges and universities. It describes this overall system of educational mobility and educational failure in the Chicago area and reports on what happens to black, white and Latino students from the city and suburbs. It cannot, of course, analyze the inner workings of individual colleges and schools and we could not directly measure the quality of instruction in the thousands of classrooms. The statistics reported here raise large questions about educational opportunity in Chicago society. They also raise very important questions that should be examined in much greater depth within the individual campuses and schools. Studies are needed within each campus.

The study shows an interlocking system of educational stratification that treats minority and low-income students differently in a great many ways. The higher education system does not operate to equalize opportunity but has powerful institutional features that tend to perpetuate separation and inequality. There are no signs that these problems are curing themselves. In fact, cuts in scholarships, increases in tuition, increases in high school graduation standards and college admissions requirements, and cuts in compensatory programs in both high schools and colleges could lead to greater inequality and less access for a large and growing fraction of metropolitan Chicago students. The final chapter presents a variety of recommendations for increasing access and choice to higher education in the Chicago area.

PART I

HIGHER EDUCATION AND INEQUALITY IN METROPOLITAN CHICAGO

CHAPTER 1

STUDY OVERVIEW

This study is an analysis of access and choice in higher education in the metropolitan Chicago area, the nation's third largest urban complex. Metropolitan Chicago contains a numerous and diverse set of communities, scores of public school systems, and 58 general-purpose colleges and universities. It ranks second in black population and fourth in Hispanic population among the nation's urban centers. Like many of our largest cities, it is a declining industrial powerhouse, undergoing sweeping changes in its economic base and employment structure that make access to higher education more important than ever. Metropolitan Chicago dominates the state of Illinois, accounting for more than two-thirds of the people of this large state. This study addresses a number of state government policy issues, important factors given the massive role of state policy and state funds in the operation of higher education in the Chicago area.

American higher education, in contrast to its often explicitly elitest counterparts in other societies, reaches a very large segment of the public. Public higher education has a strong historic commitment to egalitarianism. From the rise of the land-grant state universities in the 19th century to the explosive development of community colleges in the last two decades, there has been a commitment to low-cost, widely available education. As higher education in all segments has become more heavily subsidized by government and college credentials have become essential for an increasing portion of the jobs in the U.S. economy, the open meritocratic nature of a system offering some kind of training for all interested students has been used to justify the very large public expenditures for colleges and the students who attend them.

American higher education was originally private education for a small segment of the population. As college education and research became more important to an increasingly technological society, there were a variety of efforts to create institutions that were in the public sector, had very low enrollment costs, and easy admissions standards. The land grant colleges, state normal schools, city universities, and, in recent decades, community colleges, were all part of this egalitarian impulse. Ironically, part of the justification for the creation and expansion of community college systems was the belief that the earlier public institutions had become excessively selective and costly, increasingly like their private predecessors.

Not only has public policy produced a wide array of institutions but, since 1960, laws and regulations prohibiting discrimination and requiring affirmative action have done much to end overt racial and gender discrimination. During the same period, the great expansion of federal and state scholarship and loan programs was often justified in part because it made access to college more equal for low-income and minority families.

The increasing importance of college education, the growth of enrollment as children of the baby boom grew up, and the public policies fostering access to college all produced a massive increase in the demand for higher education. That demand encouraged expansion and a proliferation of new institutions.

As institutions of many sorts emerged, higher education became a stratified complex of institutions of varying selectivity. Above the lowest levels, offering very broad and sometimes universal access, there are layers of institutions with increasingly demanding standards for admissions. The complexity of this system, which operates under a number of independent governing boards and many separate campus administrations, often means that no one is in a position to assess the impact of the entire system.

This study reports who gets in and who graduates from each of the types of institutions and to what extent students who enter the community colleges manage to transfer to and graduate from four-year colleges. It considers how various public insitutions and public policies affect those choices.

Although some authors have argued about the actual economic value of obtaining a four-year degree, it has been an article of faith among Americans that attainment of a college degree is a gateway to upward social mobility, higher income, and influence (Jencks, 1968). Data from the 1980 Census show that, for each racial group, those adults with B.A. degrees do in fact have better jobs, higher incomes, and lower unemployment rates (U.S. Civil Rights Comm., 1983). Associated with the general belief in the importance of college training is the widespread conviction that graduation from more selective institutions will yield even greater opportunity. The enormous financial sacrifices accepted by families to enable their children to attend the most selective and expensive institutions testify to the strength of this belief.

Admissions processes now emphasize academic credentials and test scores since reforms of recent decades have made personal characteristics such as sex, race, and social class less important. Even if the system were perfectly neutral in applying any set of standards, however, individuals and groups receiving less adequate preparation to meet those standards would have more limited access to the full array of colleges. For example, inequality in high school instruction would simply project into inequality in higher education and unequal life chances after college. "Neutral" college admissions standards applied perfectly equally to students from totally different high school backgrounds would tend to perpetuate the differences in the high schools. In a situation like that of metropolitan Chicago, with some high schools where virtually no one even takes a college admissions test and others where virtually everyone goes to a college and a great many go to selective colleges, colleges do not apply their admissions procedures to the products of an equitable system of secondary education.

More than 15 years ago, Alan B. Wilson (1968, p. 80) wrote,

> The effects which differences between schools may have upon students' academic development acquires special public salience, then, even though this effect may be much smaller than the effects upon achievement of family socialization or the differences between pupils within schools. The gross disparities in educational attainments of students attending schools with contrasting racial or socioeconomic composition have been repeatedly documented and publicized during the past several years. Schools in depressed areas are stigmatized; the avoidance of such schools by parents in a position to choose reflects their belief that schools do provide unequal educational opportunities.

Still, today, not only parents in a position to choose but university recruiters as well avoid schools in depressed areas. Even a senior placing academically at the top of a ghetto high school will often not be prepared, in terms of standardized test scores or curriculum preparation, to gain access to a major university. Often the only available route to a B.A. may be through a two-year college and a later transfer to a more selective four-year institution. Central city students, particularly those in poor minority schools, often find that even very successful performance within the school they attend leaves them unprepared to study at any selective college. In practice, they are simply denied the opportunities routinely available to their suburban counterparts.

As Professor Wilson indicates, schools are not the only factor affecting student preparedness for higher education. Most observers regard the family to be the most pervasive socializing influence (Jencks, 1968; Astin and Cross, 1978). The attitudes, expectations, and aspirations learned by the child in the home environment, then,

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influence to a large extent the form that the primary and secondary education experience will assume and the subsequent credentials a student will present to a prospective college or university. Sweeping differences in family educational background, occupational status, and income have obvious effects on aspirations, knowledge of higher education choices, and ability to finance college. The differences between families are an inseparable result of social diversity in race, class, income and individual ability.

Access and Choice in Perspective

It is against this backdrop that the complex interdependency of issues concerning aspiration, access, and choice surface. From a policy perspective, it is clear that there is unequal opportunity of access in terms of disproportionate distributions by race and class within higher education. But differences in income, race, and class both reflect and are causal to conditions in the home, school, and neighborhood. The structural barriers to access noted above are the same historically cultural, racial, and class conditions that in turn produce differences in personal aspiration and choice. Not all students choose to complete high school or aspire to a college education, nor perhaps should they.

The extent to which differences in access and choice in higher education represent racial and class inequity within the higher education system rather than in society itself is a difficult social and political judgment. The question is the extent to which public policy can or should attempt to remedy pre-college inequalities.

What has been described above is a complex, interdependent system of institutional selectivity in access and college choice. Like most social systems, there is social channeling and self-selection and intergenerational inertia tending to make it self-perpetuating. The sons and daughters of the more affluent are prepared by their suburban high schools for further education, while inner-city schools prepare students for the labor market with vocationally oriented curricula. A high proportion of big city minority students do not even complete high school.

Application to college is often viewed by researchers in terms of an oversimplified self-selecting system of personal choice. For example, in discussing the relative importance of high school class rank and standardized test scores, Manski and Wise (1983, p. 7) mention, "We have found that high school class rank is just as important as SAT scores in admission decisions, and that these two measures are more strongly related to individual application decisions than to college admission decisions."

Manski and Wise's finding that most applicants are admitted to their first-choice college (1983, p. 7) provides strong circumstantial evidence for a system of channeling and self-selection. Teachers and guidance counselors are thought to be particularly influential institutional actors in the channeling process (see Chapter 6). A hypothesis to be explored in this study is that in low-income areas the system is perpetuated when newly trained teachers return as faculty members to schools in the same neighborhoods and communities in which they were students. The cycle is completed when students are guided to the same higher education institutions which graduated their faculty.

Study Overview

This is a study of access and choice to institutions of higher education in the Chicago metropolitan area. A primary objective is to document differences in backgrounds of students across the area institutions and to describe who is eligible for access to selective institutions and who is not. The ability, in terms of earned academic credentials, of students to transfer from two-year colleges to four-year institutions is an important component in access. Structural influences on college enrollment are difficult to study. Increasingly costly and sophisticated methodological techniques (e.g., Thomas et al., 1978) are being employed to investigate the differential effects of race, class, and home environment on access and choice in higher education. Some of these techniques are used in this report in Chapter 8. Chapter 3 provides an important background to the analysis of structural influences operating in the metropolitan Chicago area. Census data, for example, demonstrate not only an unequal distribution of educational attainment by income and race but show larger differences by race that are not dependent on income level. The data show striking geographic differences in high school and college completion. Though these differences are partly explained by the extremely high racial segregation of the area, they may also reflect the impact of different high school systems, differential availability of summer jobs, and other factors discussed in later chapters. The widely disparate distribution of education by race and area in this and other descriptive chapters justifies much of the orientation of this report to racial inequalities.

The residential segregation of the metropolitan area shapes not only high school experience but also the community college experience, since each college serves only a small part of the area and there are major tuition barriers to attendance across the city-suburban line. This structural reality is likely to be instrumental in maintaining the cycle of channeling in Chicago-area institutions.

Following the Census analysis, the report considers the nature of enrollment patterns in the metropolitan area. Statistics from 58 colleges are examined to show the enrollment trends in city and suburban institutions and the changes over time. The city schools are declining in importance as those of the suburbs are expanding. Community colleges have become a very important part of the educational system, with city community colleges the most important resource for black and Hispanic students but of only marginal importance to whites. The city college system is the only major component of the educational complex that is experiencing a substantial decline in enrollment. Minority students are an insignificant part of the enrollment of most colleges and universities in the metropolitan area.

Our study of the transfer data shows strong patterns of progression within the educational system from particular two-year institutions to particular four-year schools. Few students in minority community colleges transfer anywhere. Those who do transfer to B.A.-granting institutions tend to go very disproportionately to the least selective institutions in the metropolitan area. Transfer students from suburban junior colleges, however, very seldom enroll in non-selective colleges, and some obtain access to highly ranked selective colleges. Obviously, junior colleges serve different functions and have different impacts in different parts of metropolitan Chicago.

The graduation statistics show that whites are much more likely to graduate from the colleges they attend than are minority students. They also show wide variation in attrition levels among colleges. Perhaps the most disturbing finding is that, although the black college-age population is rapidly growing, the number of blacks receiving B.A. and M.A. degrees in both the city and the suburbs has declined since 1975.

The chapters of the report examining high schools document the extraordinary differences among the more than 220 public high schools that produce most of the students in the Chicago-area colleges. The high schools are intensely segregated, not only by race but also by income level. There are striking differences between almost all city schools and almost all suburban schools along many dimensions, including racial composition, percentage of children in poverty, reading test scores, and dropout rates. Students in suburban schools have access to a broader college preparatory curriculum that is taught in a more competitive setting.

An original analysis of a survey of Illinois high school seniors shows that the differences in college attendance are not produced by differing desires of black, Hispanic, and white students. Each group expresses a very strong desire to attend four-year colleges and say, as seniors, that they have known how to get ready for college and that they do plan to enroll. There is a difference between black and white students in terms of who influences their selection of a college. White students, who are much more likely to be in families with college graduates, report that their school has considerably less influence on their college choice than do their black counterparts. Black students say that they are more influenced by teachers, counselors, military recruiters, and sessions with college recruiters.

Our analysis of access to colleges shows that those colleges that serve the poorest students and the most minority students, the city community colleges, are least responsive to requests for information. Suburban colleges were much more likely to respond effectively to telephone requests for information. None of the community colleges provided the kind of information about financial aid that would make it easy for students to become eligible for such aid before enrolling. The course catalogues provided by the city institutions did not describe what courses were offered at each individual campus.

The community college curriculum is not equivalent at the various community colleges. Although offerings of basic pre-B.A. courses appear to be similar in the catalogues, the actual course offerings are narrower in some fields in city colleges, and the city students are viewed as less prepared by the transfer-receiving institutions. The real preparation is highly unequal and is a barrier to successful transfer.

The programs that provide financial aid to students are, of course, critical in influencing student choices. The great expansion of college attendance in the sixties and early seventies was accompanied by large increases in student aid. As the real cost of college has increased in recent years and the scholarship assistance available per student has declined, the difficulties have grown. The rapid growth of poverty in the black and Hispanic communities in the early 1980s and the growing proportion of minority children who are living in low-income female-headed families has increased the importance of financial aid.

Our analysis of financial aid examines how effectively policies provide both access to college and a real choice among colleges. Both the overall shortage of funds in the scholarship system and several of the specific policies governing the distribution of those funds do have serious consequences for low-income and minority families, consequences that tend to limit both access and choice.

Study of the background of teachers in Chicago and suburban school systems shows that teachers working in city and suburban schools come from very different educational backgrounds. The city has the vast majority of the area's black and Hispanic teachers while the suburbs have very few. Unfortunately, however, the city also has the most teachers from the least selective colleges in the area while the suburbs have very few. City high schools have proportionately far fewer teachers with advanced degrees than the suburbs, and those with advanced degrees are likely to have them from less competitive colleges. Since teachers are an important influence both in preparing students for college and in influencing their choice of college, this distribution of teachers clearly tends to reinforce the strong patterns of channeling within the system of higher education.

Conclusion

The report shows that the higher education system functions in many ways to reflect and sometimes to reinforce the underlying inequalities within the society of metropolitan Chicago. It shows that the system is built upon and sustained by many forces including public policies in such important areas as financial aid. If the impact of the system is to be changed it is very important that public officials consider ways to make the system more open and more likely to function as an instrument of mobility. The policy recommendations at the end of the report suggest directions for change. If there is to be real opportunity for higher education for all students in the Chicago area, these issues must receive serious attention from the educational and political leaders of our area and from the state and federal government.

CHAPTER 2

CAUSES OF INEQUALITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

This study of higher education in metropolitan Chicago was designed to reach beyond earlier research. Previous research in several disciplines has explored only certain limited aspects of problems of access, equity, and choice in higher education. This research attempts to build on previous findings as well as to ask new questions. Although the metropolitan scale of this analysis and the variety of research approaches and data sources employed in this study are unique, many sections draw on ideas and findings from earlier research.

The striking channeling of students from different racial and economic backgrounds and from different residential areas that is a basic focus of this study can be illuminated and explained by drawing on three fundamental kinds of research. Explaining the unequal access and constrained choices so evident in the Chicago data set out in the next 12 chapters requires (1) simple descriptive statistics, (2) evaluation research assessing the impact of public policies and institutional practices, and (3) attempts to show underlying determinants of the inequalities through sophisticated statistical modeling and analysis of surveys and other complex data sets.

Reviewing earlier research on these issues and applying similar or improved techniques in parts of this study are helpful in several ways. Earlier research provides a comparative setting for assessing the results of the research here. This makes it possible to assess the relative severity of various problems in our area and shows whether or not some of the same causes may be at work. Earlier research points to issues and data that should be examined here and suggests some of the kinds of changes in policy that might diminish the inequalities documented in this study. Reviewing the omissions and weaknesses of earlier research is also useful in pointing to issues that need to be addressed and to the need for better data and different analytic approaches.

Descriptive research is the most straightforward. Before any more complex or scientific research can take place it is necessary to have the best possible description of the nature of the inequalities that now exist and some assessment of their severity and significance. It is particularly useful for our study to review national patterns and trends in minority enrollment and graduation and studies from other large states. The major research problems here are problems of obtaining the data, creating appropriate classifications, and analyzing the significance of the findings.

The evaluation of policies and institutional practices is a much more difficult task. Although policies such as tuition costs and financial aid, admissions testing, transfer requirements, and many others help shape students' decisions, research involves describing the policies and their application, discerning effects of policy variation, and separating the impact of the policies from that of other factors influencing decisions by students and their families. Though there has been substantial research on some aspects of financial aid, for instance, surprisingly little attention has been given to a number of other important policy issues.

Convincing analysis of policy issues must rely in part on the third and most difficult kind of research-studies that attempt to assess carefully underlying causes of various problems by developing a theory, collecting the necessary data, and statistically assessing the interaction of forces in the hypothesized system. This kind of causal analysis is generally pursued through applying statistical models to large social surveys or sets of economic, educational, and social data collected for other purposes. The value of this kind of work, of course, is that it provides the only way of systematically appraising the relative importance of different institutional, personal, and family background causes.

There are three major limitations in causal analysis: the measures used may not adequately represent what they claim to measure; the causes may interact either with each other or with an unknown underlying cause; and there may be errors in statistical assumptions and modeling. The limitations that arise in developing statistical models of causation are precisely the problems that one confronts in developing a testable theory to explain the conditions studied. Many of these problems become particularly difficult when dealing with a basic social cleavage such as race, which is not only related to many other forms of present inequality but is also related to a history of even more drastic inequalities that have shaped many of the economic and family background factors that are usually treated as independent factors to be controlled in analyzing racial discrimination as a cause of inequality. Thus, for example, one cannot completely explain a black student's college decision to attend a junior college rather than a four-year institution as a consequence of economics rather than race; his parents may, for example, have been denied education and job equality because of race, and those denials thus caused the economic inequality.

Studies merely considering contemporary data would frequently "control" for family economic background, treating it as a nonracial background fact that is independent of racial discrimination, either in the past or present. This means that, in circumstances where the family economic situation had a powerful impact on college choice patterns, that effect would not be attributed to racial discrimination. This method of analysis, in other words, is likely to underestimate the degree to which observed differences result from discrimination rather than from nonracial factors. It ignores the powerful impact of racial history on present-day conditions.

On the other hand, simple descriptive statistics showing the different enrollment and graduation patterns for white and minority students are likely to imply that discrimination is a more powerful force than it actually is. These statistics tend to represent the absolute upward limit of effect that could possibly be attributed to all forms of discrimination, historic and comtemporary. Of course, in very complex settings where many factors are at work, the actual impact of discrimination would almost certainly be somewhere between the estimate derived from a statistical model and data that cannot deal with the problems of continuing effects of historic discrimination and the simple conclusions about racial inequality that one could make from the descriptive statistics about present-day conditions for blacks, whites, and Hispanics.

Enrollment and Graduation Patterns and Trends

American society has long accorded great importance to higher education as a crucial institution for social and economic mobility. Policies have been designed and resources committed to create and maintain a very large set of institutions and to make possible more equal access to college. The goal of the policies has not been equal results for individuals or social groups but a system more based on merit and less on personal financial situation. In a society that values opportunity very strongly and where there is strong evidence that a B.A. degree and higher degrees are strongly related to higher-status occupations and higher incomes, the nature of access and the degree to which opportunity has been equalized are very important problems.

Research shows that there were large gains in the number and percentage of black and Hispanic students enrolled in college from the 1960s to the mid-1970s. The percentage of black students concentrated in black colleges rapidly fell. Graduation levels for minority students, however, continued to lag seriously behind the white levels. After the mid-1970s, even the enrollment statistics began to show an end to the trend of expanding minority access to the campuses.

Among undergraduate students in the country, minority enrollment was a rising fraction of a rapidly growing total enrollment from 1968 to 1976. Black undergraduate enrollment totals climbed from 7% to 10% of the nation's total college students during this period. Graduate black enrollment reached 5.3% in 1974 and had declined to 4.9% in fall 1976. Hispanic enrollment grew later from an even smaller beginning, climbing from 2.1% to 3.5% of undergraduate enrollment from 1970 to 1978 (Brown et al., p. 140; U.S. National Advisory Commission on Black Higher Education, p. 11)

The increases were extremely important and were often pointed to as signs that real mobility had become possible for blacks and Hispanics.

Higher education is directly and strongly related to higher incomes and higher status occupations. A degree from a four-year college or university not only makes a difference in career and income but also is the essential prerequisite for entrance into the professional and graduate institutions that train the professionals who make up such a large portion of the nation's elite.

Higher education has a particular salience and significance for blacks and Hispanics, who come from groups occupying lower economic and social status and from families where there has often not been a history of college training. A wide variety of research does show that young blacks and Hispanics receiving B.A. degrees do dramatically close the income and employment gap with white counterparts (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1983). Given the faith in the importance of education among minorities, the national belief that education is the key to opportunity, and the tangible evidence of the difference education makes, the issue of real and equal access is of great importance.

Until the 1960s many public colleges and universities in the South, where most blacks live, remained totally segregated and the great majority of black college students attended black colleges. The precise dimensions of the problem cannot even be known because many colleges kept no racial statistics until they were required by the federal government after passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Special minority recruitment efforts were also products of the sixties, many being devised late in the decade. The large federal scholarship programs and special preparation programs for minority students were also outgrowths of the period of intense civil rights and educational reform in the sixties. Rising aspirations of minority students, increasing economic success for minority families and rapidly growing numbers of minority high school graduates contributed to the pattern of growing access. In fact, minority enrollment in college expanded much faster than that of the whites from the late 1960s to the early 1970s, and it appeared that the educational access gap was narrowing rapidly.

There was a backlash, however, to the special minority admissions programs. Such programs were challenged in important Supreme Court cases, *De Funis* v. *Odegaard* and *Bakke* v. *Regents of the University of California*. The Supreme Court's highly ambiguous decision in the *Bakke* case encouraged opponents of special admissions programs and is seen by some authorities as a cause of the downturn in minority access in the late 1970s (Blackwell, p. 189-203). Another major cause may have been the fiscal retrenchment in the late 1970s as college enrollments began to fall and many states found themselves squeezed between rapid inflation of costs and popular movements limiting the revenue base (Mingle, 1981).

The national statistics for the 1975-80 period, the most recent available, show discouraging trends. The American Council on Education's Office of Minority Concerns (1984, p. 9) reported, "Overall representation of minorities in higher education has been decreasing since 1975. Between 1975 and 1980 the number of blacks enrolled in college as a percent of high school graduates has declined 4.2 percent from 32.0 percent to 27.8 percent. Hispanics fell 5.5 percent to 29.9 percent."

Those blacks and Hispanics who were in school were much more likely than white students to be enrolled in two-year colleges not awarding B.A. degrees. "Whites are twice as likely as either blacks or Hispanics to be enrolled in a public university and about 50 percent more likely to be enrolled in a private university" (ACE, 1984, p. 10). The attrition rate was far higher for minority students than for white students, and many community college students failed to transfer to four-year colleges. Among the nation's students receiving bachelor's degrees in 1980-81, only 6.4% were black and 2.3% were Hispanic. Fewer black males received B.A.'s that year than five years earlier (ACE, 1984, p. 11-12).

Factors Related to Enrollment

Access to higher education is a complex issue related to many factors, including socioeconomic background and choices made both by the students and institutions. Students from less affluent families also tend to have limited secondary school preparation and restricted financial resources for colleges. Recent studies consider many factors contributing to access in different ways. This review concentrates on basic factors such as family income and test scores.

Family Background

Family SES and peer influence are significant influences in determining college attendance of high school graduates; "studies have shown that teachers, parents, and especially peers influence the educational aspirations and attainment of students" (Thomas and Braddock, 1981, p. 15). It is difficult to devise objective measures of peer influence, particularly because it is mediated by a number of other socioeconomic factors. As for family SES, the probability of attending college declines if one's parents are poor, or minority, or both. "In fall 1973 . . . the chances of going to college increased for both black and white students as their family incomes reached and surpassed the median incomes of their racial groups" (Howard University, p. 113). It should be noted, however, that, with socioeconomic status held constant, blacks were more likely to begin some college than whites (Olivas, p. 34). Blacks, however, are much poorer than whites; therefore they still show lower overall college enrollment rates than whites. Minorities and whites alike manifest progressively lower college attendance rate as income decreases. Family income is the single most important correlate of higher education experience, as both the national and Chicago statistics show.

The selectivity of the institution chosen is another factor that increases as family income increases, as Table 1 indicates. The selectivity of the institution is based on data examined by Alexander Astin (1975), including overall expenditures, library expenditures, median faculty salary, and mean per-student subsidy. These factors are mainly related to expenditures, but the selectivity of an institution, based on these categories, correlates directly with median student family income, high school grades (see Table 1 and Table 2), and standardized test scores (see Table 5).

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW FRESHMEN ENTERING DIFFERENT TYPES OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, FALL 1973

Type of Institution	H.S. Grades B+ or Higher	% Minority	Parent Income
Two-Year Colleges	21.3	11.8	$12,195
Four-Year Colleges			
Low selectivity	39.9	18.7	13,427
Medium selectivity	33.0	6.9	14,055
High selectivity	58.5	4.8	15,695
Universitites			
Low selectivity	49.9	4.1	16,590
Medium selectivity	51.1	2.4	15,510
High selectivity	69.3	5.4	17,843

Source: Morris, p. 111.

TABLE 2

BACKGROUND OF FRESHMAN ENTERING DIFFERENT TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS, FALL 1982

Instit.	% with parents' income below $20,000	% black and Hispanic	% needing remedial math	% in top 20% in high school
All colleges	29.7	10.3	22.1	39.6
Community colleges	34.1	6.2	23.6	25.5
Four-year colleges	31.0	15.8	22.6	42.8
Black colleges	58.4	97.1	41.4	24.9

Source: American Council on Education, 1982 freshman survey.

High School Background

Next to socioeconomic status, it is the secondary school that structures access to colleges through curriculum (academic vs. technical-vocational), counseling (regarding college availability, financial aid, and application procedures), student exam preparation, and grading. While in principle all high school diplomas are equal, they are in fact unequal; the currency--grades and diplomas--of minority high schools is not considered equivalent to that of majority high schools. College admissions are primarily based on test scores and high school grades; these two criteria are considered the best predictors of college grade point average. Other criteria include letters of recommendation and interviews, both of which allow candidates to be judged on a broader range of personal attributes. Standardized tests, even "culture-fair" versions, are often attacked for an inherent bias against minorities (Gerry, 1976, pp. 20-28; Bailey, chap. 5; Thomas, chap. 4).

High School Attrition

The student who does not complete secondary school, of course, does not even have the option of deciding not to go to college. As Table 3 indicates, the dropout rate for minorities is disproportionately higher than for whites. Both Hispanics and blacks have long had far higher drop out rates than whites, though rates have declined for both since the 1970s.

TABLE 3

PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS, BY RACE

	Dropouts aged 14-17 in 1976	14-17 year-olds enrolled two or more years behind age group, 1976	Dropouts in total 1980 population 25 or older
Whites	7.3	17.4	31.3
Blacks	15.4	17.7	49.4
Hispanics	20.1	19.4	56.7

Source: American Council on Education, Minorities in Higher Education, 1984: p. 3,5.

TABLE 4

HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION AND DISTRIBUTION, URBAN AND SUBURBAN WHITES AND HISPANICS

	Percent Hispanics and Whites 25+ Yrs who have completed 4 Yrs H.S.			
	1970		1979	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Hispanic				
Urban	32.4	28.6	40.9	38.8
Suburban	38.5	37.7	47.1	48.0
Whites				
Urban	54.7	53.8	70.6	67.1
Suburban	60.3	61.1	75.8	74.5

Source: Fratoe, p. 3.

The suburban population consistently shows a higher completion rate for all races and sexes than the urban population (see discussion of Chicago census data in Chapter 4), but relatively few nonwhites are suburban.

TABLE 5

ENROLLMENTS BY FAMILY AND MEDIAN INCOME (%) 1972-76 (IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

Type of Instit.	$0-4	$4-10	$10-15	$15-20	$20-25	$25+	Median Income Constant $ 1972
				1972			
Two-Year	11.6	30.2	31.5	12.6	6.3	7.9	11,126
Four-Year	7.0	22.5	29.4	15.7	9.5	14.9	13,153
University	3.4	17.6	29.5	17.0	12.2	20.3	14,908
				1976			
Two-Year	8.3	18.5	26.3	17.3	12.4	17.1	10,635
Four-Year	5.9	14.8	22.3	17.1	13.7	26.3	11,777
University	3.2	9.8	18.9	17.2	15.6	35.3	14,911

Source: Olivas, p. 38.

Minority students, whose family income (Table 5) is generally lower than that of white students, show larger percentages in community colleges than four-year colleges. In fact, the percentages are almost equal at both two- and four-year institutions.

High School Formation

Students who do complete high school usually require more than just a diploma to go to college. Their "nurturing" includes solid training in mathematics and sciences, a college preparatory curriculum, informed counseling information about colleges and admission and financial aid procedures, preparation for and administration of examinations, and high-quality teaching. Students from well-regarded high schools have advantages in the admission process. These criteria are usually met by private and suburban schools whose populations are predominantly middle-class white. Minority students, on the other hand, are far more likely to have inadequate high school preparation because they disproportionately attend poor inner-city high schools. According to the Howard University study, these high schools are located in deprived neighborhoods and offer no resources-financial or emotional-with which talented black youths can compensate for the inadequate education their high schools and communities provide (p. 145). Furthermore, college recruitment practices favor tapping middle-class schools rather than inner-city schools.

Minority access to higher education is dependent on several variables-environmental factors, secondary school preparation, standardized testing, and college admission procedures. The pattern of access also varies dramatically among types of colleges.

At the postsecondary level, all institutions are not equivalent. Four-year institutions vary according to standards of admission, faculty qualifications, breadth of programs (including graduate programs), and student support systems; these all contribute to their relative ranking. Two-year colleges are considered to be inferior in ranking within the academic status system to four-year institutions because of open admissions, faculty with fewer diplomas and fewer publications, nonacademic curriculum, lack of student body cohesion (because of the nonresidential nature of community colleges), and no research facilities. Minorities enroll disproportionately in two-year institutions rather than four-year institutions. For example, in 1973, "blacks tended to be most underrepresented at large public universities where 6 percent of the total enrollment was black, and at private four-year colleges where 4.2 percent of the total enrollment was black. At public four-year and private two-year colleges, blacks were 13 percent and 11.5 percent of the total enrollment" (Howard University, p. 49). The representation of poor and minorities in institutions of higher education is inversely related to school selectivity as measured by mean SAT scores (Table 6). Community colleges have a more varied social profile than four-year colleges, with a greater percentage of poor, minority, older, part-time, and less well-prepared students.

TABLE 6

MEAN SCORES ON COLLEGE ENTRANCE TESTS, 1974-75

Type of Institution	SAT	SAT-M	ACT
Private university	850	4[illegible]	19.0
Private four-year college	835	44[illegible]	18.6
Public four-year college	912	469	20.4
Private two-year college	680	326	15.0
Public two-year college	732	383	16.2

Source: Morris, p. 52.

Despite the idealistic aim of the community college-to provide access to higher education to all-follow-up studies indicate that "in the short run two-year degrees do not substantially improve a person's chances in the labor market" (Breneman and Nelson, 1981, p. 65), and that "attending community colleges does tend to reduce the probability of receiving a B.A." (p. 82). In other words, students' income does not rise, and their chance of finishing college drops. Some research indicates that the problem of financial aid is particularly acute in community colleges where individuals may not qualify because they are part-time students or because paperwork for student aid discourages applicants (see Breneman and Nelson, Olivas). Poor advising may also eliminate a large number of individuals from application for aid.

One-third of black students attend predominantly black institutions (Astin and Cross, 1981, p. 30). Those in traditionally black colleges attend for many of the same reasons that whites attend small liberal arts colleges (Mays, 1978). Blacks in these schools also show a higher persistence and completion rate, reflecting in part the residential nature of these four-year colleges.

Institutional Variation

Several factors can be considered within the institutions-for example, the residential nature of the institution, characteristics of the faculty, student services, and administration. The importance of campus residency to academic persistence is in part a function of the added time and resources residential students bring to bear on their work, which commuting students must expend in other ways. Minorities are underrepresented in residential four-year colleges, and overrepresented in nonresidential two-year colleges.

As for the faculty and administration of two-year colleges, Olivas points out how they fail to encourage minority enrollment. The number of minority faculty members is exceedingly low at universities and four-year colleges where the percentage of minority students is also low; however, the number of minority faculty is not significantly higher at two-year colleges, where the percentage of minority students is much larger. For example, in 1972-73, .9% of university faculty and 1.78% of four-year college faculty were black; this was not much less than 2.1% black faculty in two-year colleges (Olivas, p. 66). A fact that may correlate with the proportionately small number of minority faculty in two-year colleges is the political conservatism of two-year colleges compared with four-year ones. Boards of trustees of two-year colleges are 8% minority and 92% white, and there are few minority administrators in areas other than affirmative action (Olivas, p. 102). Although the two-year college system is the major source of access to higher education for minorities, Olivas concludes, it is a system of, by, and for whites.

Programmatic Variation

Minority students enroll disproportionately in fields of low prestige that promise little with respect to postgraduate employment. Morris (p. 133-36) describes a maldistribution of blacks in baccalaureate fields, pointing to an overrepresentation in education and the social sciences and an underrepresentation in sciences. However, blacks have been shifting out of these fields in recent years (ACE, p. 84).

Analyzing community college enrollment patterns is more complex. The technical or vocational programs, for example, are often highly desirable. Nursing and medical technician training programs often have waiting lists and selective admission, characteristics that contradict the theoretical open access of community colleges. Minority students are often the least qualified of applicants to these programs and may be tracked into other areas. A final aspect of two-year college programs that contributes to the concentration of minorities in nonscientific B.A. fields is the poor science curriculum offered by community colleges. This reinforces a problem apparent in minority high schools. Two-year college students are denied the possibility of pursuing a major in physical science because requisite courses in math and science are not offered.

Minority students are concentrated in two-year colleges that have many nontraditional students, a nonresidential nature, and a nonacademic orientation; these factors correlate statistically with high attrition. Those minority students who persist in higher education, entering four-year institutions from community colleges, are overrepresented in education and social science majors, have not had the opportunity to pursue a physical science major, and may even encounter difficulty in transferring credits. Finally, they are frequently disadvantaged by their two-year college attendance, because a two-year college record has less prestige (and thus less transfer power) than courses in a four-year institution.

Persistence

Minority students encounter barriers to access to higher education, barriers to enrollment in better-quality schools, and are less likely to graduate. The students who do not persist can be classified as dropouts (those who abandon college studies altogether) and stopouts (those who return to complete a degree eventually) (Astin 1975). Attrition studies look primarily at dropouts, since stopping out is a phenomenon that is difficult to examine both because of its complexity and because of its open-ended temporal component.

College Attrition

Studies using data from the 1972 National Longitudinal Study of high school graduates show that minority students drop out more than whites and great percentages of minorities drop out in their first two years (see Table 7).

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF WITHDRAWAL BY SEX, RACE, 1973

	Male			Female		
	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White
Four-Year College	27.03	27.9	22.66	27.4	21.2	23.93
Two-Year College	53.6	47.11	38.72	43.77	43.36	37.81

Source: Olivas, p. 44.

In four-year colleges the attrition rate is slightly higher for minority males than for majority males; however, in two-year colleges, where most minority students are located, the dropout rate for minority men is much greater than for whites: 53.6% for blacks, 47.1% for Hispanics, 38.7% for whites (Morris, p. 165). "In 1975-76 black undergraduates, while accounting for about 9 percent of all undergraduate enrollment, receive only about 6 percent of the B.A. degrees" (Morris, p.131). Furthermore, because minorities tend to enroll in two-year colleges, they have a greater chance of taking nondegree (vocational, remedial, adult education) courses than in four-year institutions. This is reflected in the low record of degrees received by minorities in two-year colleges. "With nearly 20 percent of the total two-year enrollments, and an even larger share of two-year full time enrollments, minorities received 13 percent of technology and 15 percent of transfer sub-baccalaureate awards in 1975-76" (Olivas, p.139).

Causes

It is easier to correlate characteristics with attrition than to ascribe causes. Morris (p. 169-70) lists the following direct and indirect correlates of attrition. Direct correlates include faculty attitudes, financial resources, environment, marginality, nonintegration (into college life), noninvolvement, and peer group socialization. Indirect correlates include attendance status (part-time), high school academic background, institutional type (two-year), nonresidency, race of institution (predominantly white), family background, lack of financial aid, and absence of supportive services. Astin (1975) describes and ranks a number of variables in their correlation with college attrition. These can be divided into four main categories: subjective, financial, secondary school, and family background. The subjective criteria include educational aspirations, study habits, and expectations about college. Financial considerations include parental income, financial aid, and student employment. Secondary school achievement includes high school grades (the most potent predictor of college success), high school rank (less significant), test scores (less significant), and academic rating of the high school (a significant addition to college persistence potential).

Examination of some of the criteria reveal a dropout profile with disparate features: "The most drop-out prone freshmen are those with poor academic records in high school, low aspirations, poor study habits, relatively uneducated parents, and small town backgrounds" (Astin, 1975, p. 45). The high attrition rate of minorities, according to Astin (1975, p. 36) "is largely attributable to their high concentration in two year colleges." The negative association between parental income and college attrition "appears to be mediated by such factors as student ability, parental education and student concerns about finances" (p. 35). A more recent study by Helen Astin and Patricia Cross (1982) corroborates most of the findings of Astin (1975), but further reveals that "blacks who are similar to whites on the significant predictor variables are somewhat more likely than whites to persist full-time" (p. 82).

Astin (1975) also looks at characteristics of the institutions. Not surprisingly, he finds a correlation between persistence and institutional selectivity (private four-year schools being the most selective and public, two-year schools the least), which in turn correlates with student test scores and parental income (Tables land 2). Astin (1975, p. 91) found that another institutional feature that correlates with persistence is the residential nature of the college: "Living in a dormitory instead of most alternative residences as a freshman appears to decrease the student's drop-out chances by approximately 10 percent" (Astin, p.91). Integration into the academic and social life of a college-and into the "collegiate way"-is crucial to a student's success and persistence in that institution. Two-year colleges offer fewer opportunities for that integration.

Financial Considerations

The principal financial factors that contribute to persistence and completion are family income, financial aid, and student employment. The generally lower than median income of minorities has been discussed above with respect to its correlation with a lower rate of college attendance. Black families subsidize a larger percentage of their children's college costs than do white families at the same financial level (Morris, p. 123).

Because family income is much lower for minority students than for white students, the former are three to four times more dependent on federal financial aid than the latter (Morris, p. 121). However, several factors inhibit their obtaining requisite aid. Morris (p. 113 ff.) points out that federal aid is awarded disproportionately to private institutions, which, as Table 1 indicates, underenroll minorities. Minorities are more likely to attend two-year colleges. Brenemen and Nelson (1981) note that the federal government neglects these institutions, giving them only $2.2 billion of $12.1 billion spent annually. They point out three factors that affect utilization of aid: (1) campus administration of student aid may hinder student application through poor advising; (2) nontraditional students are often not eligible because of part-time status; and (3) allocation of campus based funds through the state may allow further dilution of the amounts given to two-year colleges. Olivas (p. 164) likewise criticizes community colleges' distribution of financial aid, and recommends that aid offices more actively pursue additional funding, disseminate information on aid, and assist minority students (and their families) in completing forms.

Poorer students need to work. Unfortunately, Astin and Cross (1982, p. 82) note that, for persistence, "the most significant negative predictor was being employed 21 or more hours per week while attending college." Morris (pp. 121-23) points out that, beyond work-study programs, minorities have little opportunity for part-time employment because black youth unemployment is twice the white rate. Morris (p. 123) concurs with Breneman and Nelson and with Olivas in criticizing financial aid policies, and concludes that "the real choices as to whether and how most black young people will go to college rest with the government."

Summary

Nationally, minority access to higher education is affected first by the nonacademic factors of SES and family-peer influence.

it is then shaped by high school background, which not only prepares students through curriculum and training but also guides them through advising, test preparation, and college recruitment. In general, inner-city public high schools do not provide adequate education and guidance; consequently their students are admitted to the least selective institutions. These students also show lower persistence rates than middle-class youth from suburban or private highs schools. Minority students, who predominantly come from central cities, enroll disproportionately in the least selective, nonresidential two-year colleges, where attrition rates are extremely high and academic quality is low. Two-year colleges, which offer nonacademic (remedial, vocational, adult education) programs as well as academic programs, do not encourage completion and transfer. Minority students who complete baccalaureate degrees major disproportionately in education and the social sciences, and not in the physical sciences. Therefore, the pool of college graduates eligible to continue in professional programs is limited and, despite gains made in the seventies, remains a small percentage of undergraduates.

Causal Analysis

The descriptive research shows a problem of severely unequal access to and graduation from college, both by race and by income. It shows that enrollment in college, selection of college, and graduation from college are all associated with other aspects of life, such as family income level. Students from different backgrounds appear to be channeled to quite different sorts of experiences and results in the nation's higher education system. Describing this channeling process in detail and analyzing the forces that shape it will be a very important part of our study of the metropolitan Chicago area.

Of course, observing the striking differences does not prove the causes. In a very complicated institutional setting with many decision makers and a wide variety of factors influencing students and their families, showing which of the factors are actually causing the inequalities is fraught with difficulties. An interdependent system of self selection and selection by colleges appears to operate to channel students effectively into institutions where the other students have similar backgrounds and credentials.

Much more research has been done on student and family choice than on institutional selectivity. Major influences studied include parental education, parental attitudes, family income, sex of student, divorce or family stability, geographic location, and, of course, race. Any effort to assess precisely the relative contribution of each and how these forces may be influenced by institutional forces must deal with two problems-the inherent difficulty of accurately measuring something as subtle as an aspiration and that a number of these factors interact with one another.

It is clear, for example, that the level of the parents' education is strongly related to the likelihood of college attendance. Whether this relationship holds because education shapes the parents' values and aspirations for their children, because the family has higher income and social status, because the children are more likely to grow up in a community where higher education is a more common and valued experience, or through some other direct or indirect influences is very difficult to determine.

The differences in college attendance by race, to take another example, do not, in themselves, prove structural or personal racial discrimination. Since race is so closely associated with social and economic status in the United States, it is very difficult to separate these factors to try to determine the particular impact of racial discrimination. A more fundamental paradox, however, develops in the effort to infer causality when earlier racial discrimination is also understood to be a cause of contemporary social and economic differences between white and minority families. This sort of complexity stands in the way of developing and testing a theory of the causes of inequality by race in higher education.

Although there have been two commendable attempts to develop statistical models including numerous factors related to inequality and to assess their relative impact, their lack of comprehensiveness, the imperfect nature of some of the measures, and the interactions discussed earlier mean that even these most elaborate models are not fully representative of the causal systems driving college access and choice. For these reasons it is better to speak of "influences" than of "causes" when assessing statistical conclusions about the relative importance of various background factors for college attainment.

Home Environment

The family, the primary source of socialization, initially influences a child's attitudes toward school and academic achievement. The parents' educational background and attitudes influence children's academic interests, their basic academic skills, and their perceptions of school and learning. The influences can operate in many ways, as Havighurst (1964, p. 53) noted twenty years ago, speaking of families with low income and little educational background: "Parents do not read to their children very often, or set an example of reading. Their conversation uses a limited supply of words. . . .children from many low-income families suffer an intellectual deprivation which puts them at a severe disadvantage when they come to school."

These and other influences of the family persist to some degree throughout elementary and secondary schools and affect the credentials that a student can present to a college. Families socialize boys and girls differently, and that process, together with its reinforcement in the broader community, may explain some of the observed differences in enrollment by gender (Thomas et al., 1979). All other things being equal, students from different parts of the country attend colleges at somewhat different rates, suggesting an influence of local culture, traditions, institutional structures, values, or other influences. (Coleman, 1968; Manski and Wise, 1983). Children from families with two parents have a different college experience than children from single-parent families (Moynihan, 1968). In many ways, children's experiences in the home are related to their experience in the higher education system.

School Environment

The school, of course, is the second major socializing force, and the research literature often pictures schools as reflecting and reinforcing the values of the neighborhood and the families whose children attend. Schools in affluent suburbs encourage college attendance and channel their students into college preparatory curricula; schools in poor or working-class neighborhoods tend to prepare students for jobs not requiring college training (Jencks, 1968, p. 312). Low-income students tend to score lower on standardized tests and to be channeled by teachers and guidance counselors into less selective colleges or away from higher education altogether.

In contrast to those studies explaining educational differences in terms of different home backgrounds reflected through schools, other research concludes that schools do indeed normally perpetuate underlying differences but that changes in the school situation can change those outcomes. A number of studies have shown that "children of all backgrounds tend to do better in schools with a predominantly middle class milieu" (Pettigrew, 1968, p. 67). In their review of desegregation research, Crain and Mahard (1978, p. 83) find that most evaluations find positive impacts of integration in middle-class schools on black student achievement. The social composition of the school affects the composition peer groups and, according to some studies, peer groups affect aspirations for college. (Thomas and Braddock, 1981; Pettigrew, 1968) McPartland and Braddock (1981) report significant impacts on college choice of segregation or desegregation in secondary school. Students from segregated schools are more likely to attend segregated colleges. In addition, "studies of northern students did reveal a significant positive impact of early school desegregation on whether a black high school graduate enrolled at all in a four-year college [even] after controlling for family background and college qualifications" (1981, pp. 149-50). It would seem that aspirations can be held at both the individual and school levels and that the school environment may influence the individual goals.

Recent research shows differences between aspirations and expectations. Students asked about their "realistic" expectations about what they will accomplish answer differently than when asked about what they want to do. Koppel and DelRoccili (1982) found, however, that the educational level of the parents was strongly associated with both educational aspirations and expectations. Like other researchers, Koppel and DelRoccili (1982, p. 458) found that students from less positive family backgrounds did not really expect to realize their aspirations fully: "The fact that students from less advantaged families have lower occupational expectations but not discernibly lower aspirations indicates an internalization of social structure at the most basic level. These youths have internalized the dichotomy between an open meritocracy and the realities grounded in their social background. Considering the age of the sample, they have learned a poignant lesson."

Koppel and DelRoccili present significant evidence to show that black students report higher aspirations than whites of similar social and economic background. A comparative study of Virginia high school seniors in 1976 compared their aspirations with those of a group tested nine years earlier. It found that overall aspirations had declined as the economy and the job market deteriorated. When controlling for background characteristics, the research reported that the effective decline in white college aspirations was three times as large as that reported by blacks (Garrison, 1982, p. 55).

The high black aspirations, which are far less related to actual achievement than white aspirations have led some researchers (Katz, 1968; Garrison, 1982) to posit a theory that blacks and whites form aspirations in different ways, with schools having a greater effect on the hopes of black students. There has been little exploration of the social consequences of the huge gap between black hopes and the reality of higher education for blacks.

Family Income

Parental income is one of the most frequently cited background variables in the literature on college choice. The higher tuition costs associated with generally more selective institutions are seen to restrict the choice of institutions to which students from lower-income brackets can apply. To this extent, family income is viewed as causing inequalities in educational access. It is for this reason, and its general salience as an issue, that most of the federal and state policy in higher education assistance is directed toward financial aid in the form of loans, grants, and scholarships. However, Jencks (1968, p. 294) disputes the importance of family income.

College financing decisions are greatly influenced by the value placed on college attendance by the parent. However, for families in the very lowest income brackets, with little or no disposable income, "enormous sacrifice" may not even represent a viable option. In 1973, only about 10% of family members aged 18-24 were enrolled in college from families with income levels under $3,000. However, over 50% of family members aged 18-24 were enrolled where incomes were over $15,000 (Institute for the Study of Educational Policy (ISEP), 1976, p. 97). Again, however, the interrelation of income with other background variables, including socioeconomic status indicators, makes the relative influence of family wealth difficult to specify.

Income directly influences choice. Yearly tuition at a community college can cost thousands of dollars less than at a private institution and allow the student to continue living at home. In fact, as income level increases, the relative number of students attending the lower-cost two-year institutions declines (American Council on Education, 1984).

There is also evidence that differences in income levels affect differences in college attendance by race: "Black students were more likely to attend low-cost institutions, regardless of ability" (ISEP, 1976, p. 113). Interestingly, the same study (ISEP, 1976, p.

112) notes, "Lower-income Black families sent their members to college at a higher rate than more affluent Black families. Although Black students were underrepresented in college in the 1973-74 academic year, the underrepresentation was greatest at higher, not lower, income levels. For whites, this was not the case." Clearly, then, the relationship of family income to college attendance is a complex one, particularly where race is a factor.

Background Factors Considered in Interrelation

The intercorrelation of the background indicators renders their bivariate presentation oversimplified and potentially misleading. An apparent effect of racial differences, for example, may actually be produced by underlying income differences. The application of formal linear models in the form of structural equations (Thomas et al., 1979) or log linear equations (Manski and Wise, 1983) provides a more comprehensive look at the relative influences of the background variables included. Although the methodologies differ, both studies use the same data set, the 1972 National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) of about 15,000 high school students first surveyed as seniors in 1972 and again, after graduation, in 1973. One should bear in mind that the results summarized here are based on a random sample of the 1972 high school seniors. About 25% of this cohort were not eligible for reasons of attrition. More data were lost because of incomplete answers. Nevertheless, this data set along with the two studies represent some of the best information currently available on college access and choice.

Manski and Wise (1983, p. 5, Table A) have summarized their analysis of the relative contribution of SAT score, high school class rank, parental income, and parental education to the college application decision; their table is presented as Table 8. The dependent variable, probability of application, is the estimated percentage (divided by 100) of students deciding to apply to a college, at the given levels of test scores, class ranks, family income, and parental education. The "Difference" column can be interpreted as the relative effect size of a one standard deviation interval on either side of the mean of the four factors. A student's SAT score, then, is the most important determinant and is about two and a half times more influential than parental income, the least important determinant of application. In other words, a one standard deviation interval around the mean of family income has far less effect than an equivalent interval around SAT score, high school class rank, or parental education.

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TABLE 8

EFFECT OF CHANGES IN FOUR VARIABLES ON THE PROBABILITY OF APPLICATION

Specified Change	Probability of Application		
	High	Low	Difference
SAT score 1 standard deviation above the mean versus 1 standard deviation below the mean	.56	.21	.35
High school class rank 1 standard deviation above the mean, versus 1 standard deviation below the mean	.52	.23	.29
Parents' income 1 standard deviation above the mean, versus 1 standard deviation below the mean	.44	.30	.14
Education of mother and father college degree or more, versus education of mother and father less than H.S.	.52	.23	.29

Source: Manski and Wise, 1983, p. 5.

Manski and Wise (1983, p. 7) also computed estimates of the proportion of students applying to college and, of those, the proportion admitted for fixed SAT scores and high school class rankings. Other background variables were held at their sample means for this analysis. Table 10 indicates that less than 25% of the students with SAT scores a standard deviation below the national means or a similarly low class ranking (an indicator of high school grades) apply to college. Surprisingly, perhaps, about 80% of these students are admitted to college, which is only about a 12% decline from those placing a full standard deviation above the mean in SAT score or class ranking. Manski and Wise (1983, p. 6) use these results to suggest that colleges are less selective than is generally believed. Another interpretation offered here is that students with poorer credentials are channeled for application to less selective institutions, thereby increasing their probability of admission. It seems likely that both explanations are correct.

Table 10 shows the findings for race and region effects on the estimated probability of application and admission. Manski and Wise interpret these findings as follows: Race has little effect on admission, but a substantial "effect on application. . . . A black student with average attributes is more than twice as likely as a white student with these same attributes to apply to a four year college or university." It is important to remember that these

TABLE 9

EFFECT OF CHANGES IN SAT SCORES AND CLASS RANK ON THE PROBABILITIES OF APPLICATION AND ADMISSION

	Probability of Application			Prob. of Admission		
Specified Change	High	Low	Difference	High	Low	Diff.
SAT score 1 standard deviation above the mean, versus 1 standard deviation below the mean	.56	.21	.35	.93	.81	.12
High school class rank 1 standard deviation above the mean, versus 1 standard deviation below the mean	.52	.23	.29	.93	.80	.13

Source: Manski and Wise, 1983, p. 7.

comparisons are based on similar black and white youth: they control for individual and family background attributes. Not controlling for these attributes, blacks are on average less likely than whites to apply to a four-year college.

TABLE 10

RACE-REGION EFFECTS ON THE PROBABILITIES OF APPLICATION AND ADMISSION AND ON COLLEGE QUALITY

Comparison	Probability of Application	Probability of Admission
Black in the South	.78	.87
White in the South	.33	.87
Black in non-South	.78	.91
White in non-South	.32	.88

Source: Manski and Wise, 1983, p. 9.

Finally, Manski and Wise (1983, p. 17) report estimates of race and region effects on attendance and persistence, shown in Table 11. Controlling for background variables, differences in attendance are analogous to differences in application. Blacks in both the South and elsewhere are more than twice as likely to attend college as whites with similar backgrounds. However, blacks in the South are much more likely to finish college than blacks elsewhere or whites. Manski and Wise suggest this may be the effect of the predominantly black southern colleges.

TABLE 11

RACE-REGION EFFECTS ON THE PROBABILITIES OF ATTENDANCE AND PERSISTENCE AND ON COLLEGE QUALITY

Race and Region	Probability of Attendance	Probability of Persistence
Black in South	.45	.68
White in South	.20	.42
Black in non-South	.52	.49
White in non-South	.19	.48

Source: Manski and Wise, 1983, p. 17.

Thomas et al. (1979) employed a structural equation approach to build a path model of college attendance using the 1972 and 1973 NLS data. Three background factors-race, gender, and an indicator of social class-were related to three measures of academic credentials-scholastic aptitude test score, high school class rank, and high school curriculum (college preparatory or otherwise). Structural equation models are essentially systems of simultaneous statistical equations in which dependent variables reappear in subsequent equations as independent variables. The six indicators just mentioned were in turn related to a final dependent variable, reported college attendance. These six measures explained 33% of the variance in college attendance, which is respectable for models of this kind.

Controlling for sex, SES, and ability, blacks were found to exhibit a small overall attendance advantage in the sample. When such factors are not controlled, however, lower aptitude scores apparently depress college attendance rates for blacks on an overall basis. Class effects, as measured by a single SES indicator, were the most influential background factor. Thomas et al. (1979, p. 150) summarize the effect of SES as follows: "About one-third of the total effect of class background on college attendance operates through scholastic aptitude and a small portion operates through high school curriculum placement, net of aptitude. Finally, somewhat more than half of the effects of SES on college attendance are direct, meaning that they are completely independent of all academic credentials. In contrast to the almost negligible gross effects of race and sex, the total effect of social class in the college attendance process indeed is strong (.367)."

Summary

Both studies have pointed to the importance of background factors in college application and attendance of similarly qualified students. The larger effect size reported for race in the Manski and Wise (1983) study probably results from the difference in the inclusion of background factors rather than the differing methodologies employed. Manski and Wise found that blacks are more than twice as likely to attend college, whereas Thomas et al. (1979) found a much smaller effect. Apparently, the direct inclusion of the SAT score and the separation of parental income and education measures produced this difference. Neither study can account for the extent to which earlier racial discrimination caused the differences in pre-college education, parental education, family income, and other "background" variables.

The advantage of the modeling approach is that it allows for the statistical control of all other variables while assessing the relative influence of each in turn. This provides some indication of the hypothesized underlying causal processes at work and their relative influence on the variable(s) of interest. However, structural models are subject to the same inadequacies of error in measurement and incomplete specification as any other statistical presentation. The models can be improved by adding additional background influences appropriately. For example, adding measures of educational aspirations and expectations would provide a source of information on individual variations not present in the social background indicators now used. The 1980-82 *High School and Beyond* data used in the chapter on high school student attitudes and their relation to college enrollment and college choice permits such an analysis. The high level of black aspiration, after controlling or other factors, may explain the relatively high level of initial black enrollment from families with relatively low-income and educational backgrounds.

There has been substantial research on the factors that influence students to enroll in college and to select a particular institution. The descriptive research shows very wide differences in college attendance and, particularly, in college graduation for white and minority students. Minority students are far more likely to be enrolled in two-year low-cost colleges from which few students successfully transfer to four-year institutions. There is a much higher attrition rate in college for black and Hispanic students. More sophisticated statistical analysis, however, shows that much of the difference is apparently related to differences in the home, family income, high school preparation, and the education of parents rather than directly to race as a cause. These other factors, however, are related to race, at least in a historical perspective. Complex statistical modeling offers the most promising procedure for sorting out the various influences on college attendance, but work of this sort is still in the early stages of development.

CHAPTER 3

A CENSUS ANALYSIS OF THE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA

Historically, the Chicago metropolitan area has been one of diverse racial composition and great racial segregation. It has been a city in which boundaries are sharply drawn and neighborhoods easily categorized. This same pattern of stratification exists today in levels of educational attainment within the Chicago area.

Differences exist in levels of attainment in higher education among whites, blacks and Latinos. As defined in the 1980 Census, Latinos-that is of Spanish origin-may be of any racial background. Factors that may influence these differences include enrollment in city or suburban schools, enrollment in public or private schools, patterns of high school dropout rates, and income and employment levels. In this study, these factors have been examined for the metropolitan area as a whole, the counties surrounding Chicago, the community areas within the city boundaries, and the municipalities of 25,000 people or more outside the city boundaries. In addition, a comparison of Chicago with other major metropolitan areas has been made.

This chapter uses data derived by computing the percentages of those people age 25 and over by race in each area had completed a certain level of education, according to the 1980 Census. Years of schooling were categorized into four levels of attainment: (1) completed college (four or more years), (2) attended college for one to three years, (3) completed high school (four years), and (4) attended high school for one to three years. Thus, it was possible to determine percentages from each area completing or attending college or high school. The analysis of these figures outlines the overall differences in levels of educational attainment and provides background for the detailed study in the following chapters.

Geographic terms used in this chapter are the following: Suburban Cook County-Cook County excluding the City of Chicago; suburban area-suburban Cook County plus the five nearby counties of DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, and Will; metropolitan Chicago-the City of Chicago, suburban Cook County, and the five nearby counties listed above.

Population Distribution in Metropolitan Chicago

Within a specific geographical area, a high level of educational attainment by a racial group is not associated with a heavy concentration of that group's population. The metropolitan and suburban areas of Chicago are disproportionately populated by whites, whereas the City of Chicago is heavily populated by minorities. In 1980, whites accounted for 73% of metropolitan Chicago and 91% of suburban Chicago. Among the pre-college suburban population (ages 15-19 years), 90% were white, 7% were black; and 6%, Latino. Inside the city 40% of all individuals were black and 14% were Latino. The black and Latino fraction of the city's pre-college population was slightly greater than the minority portion of the total population. Forty-eight percent of the pre-college population were black, and 16% were Latino.

The population distribution of Chicago has changed substantially in the last 20 years. Since 1960, the black population in the city increased by almost 384,000 while the white population decreased by about 1,222,000. The metropolitan black population grew by significantly less during the 1970s than the 1960s, yet this growth exceeded that of the total population. The 1970 Census shows that, in the 1960s, 85% of the increase in the black population occurred inside the city. During the 1970s, however, only 48% of the increase occurred in the city. At the same time, the suburban population nearly doubled. Still, the 1980 suburban black population as a percentage of the total suburban population was relatively small, only 6% compared with 40% in the city (see Table 12).

Like the suburban black population, the suburban Latino population since 1970 has nearly doubled. In 1980, however, Latinos still accounted for only 4% of the total suburban population (Illinois Bureau of Employment Security, 1983, p. 5).

Residential segregation in Chicago is extremely intense and helps to account for some of the differences reported in this chapter. Analysis of 1980 Census data for all cities with black populations over 100,000 shows that Chicago is the most segregated in the nation (Taeuber, 1983). Within the city of Chicago the typical black family lives on a block with only 4% whites. In metropolitan Chicago, only 8% of black households would need to be moved to have complete segregation (Hogan, 1983). Hispanic families in the areas are as segregated from blacks as white families are, and, Hispanics are also highly segregated from whites, even in suburban areas (Hogan, 1983). This residential pattern is reflected

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION AND POPULATION CHANGE IN THE CHICAGO AREA FROM 1970 TO 1980 BY RACE

Census	Race	City	Suburb	Metropolitan Area
1970:				
	White	66	96	81
	Black	33	4	13
1980:				
	White	50	91	73
	Black	40	6	20
	Latino	14	2	8
Percentage change of population from 1970 to 1980:				
	White	-33	+7	-8
	Black	+9	+80	+16

Note: Census figures for Latinos in 1970 are not available.
Source: US Bureau of the Census 1970, 1980.

in systems of public and parochial schools that are each intensely segregated (Darden, Pearce, and Farley, 1983).

Distribution of Educational Attainment

Levels of educational attainment in metropolitan Chicago vary as widely as the racial composition of the area. The following is a detailed description of the patterns of educational attainment within the geographic regions and among the racial groups of the metropolitan area.

The data on the geographic distribution of educational attainment in the Chicago metropolitan area will be examined on three levels. First, findings for the entire metropolitan area of Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, and Will counties will be presented to establish a basis for comparing smaller areas. Once the levels of educational attainment prevailing in these large areas are determined, the levels in their constituent municipalities and communities can be compared with the area averages. The analysis will then progress to the level of suburban municipalities with a population over 25,000 and communities within Chicago. These data emphasize the unequal levels of attainment between the suburbs and the city and among racial groups within each area. A comprehensive picture of educational attainment in the Chicago metropolitan area emerges when all three levels of analysis are considered.

Attainment in the Metropolitan Area

What are the levels of attainment for the Chicago metropolitan area as a whole? Of the total population of whites, blacks, and Latinos, 17.5% graduated from college, 33.8% entered college, 66.2% graduated from high school, and 81.7% entered high school. When the data are broken down by race, whites consistently have higher rates of attainment than blacks, and blacks than Latinos, within each level of education (see Table 13). This trend persists at every level of analysis that includes significant numbers of each racial group.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE LEVELS OF EDUCATION ATTAINED IN THE METROPOLITAN CHICAGO AREA BY RACE

	Whites	Blacks	Latinos	Total
Graduated from college	20.3	8.3	6.2	17.5
Entered college	36.9	25.6	15.4	33.8
Graduated from high school	71.0	55.3	51.9	66.2
Entered high school	84.6	78.3	85.6	81.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980.

This pattern of unequal educational attainment among racial groups is confirmed by analysis at the county level. When all racial groups are combined, college graduation rates range from a high of 27.8% in DuPage County to a low of 13.9% in Will County (see Table 14).

TABLE 14

COLLEGE GRADUATION PERCENTAGE, IN AGGREGATE AND BY RACE, IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA

County	Aggregate	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	White percentage of population
Dupage	27.8	28.0	30.3	15.4	94.2
Lake	24.4	26.0	7.9	3.5	90.0
McHenry	17.0	17.1	.0	8.1	98.0
Kane	16.1	17.4	8.4	3.5	89.3
Cook	16.0	19.2	8.2	6.0	70.2
Will	13.9	14.5	10.8	6.2	87.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980.

Black attainment levels are generally far lower than those for whites. The single exception is for blacks in DuPage County, which has a very small black population. Similarly, Latino attainment is always significantly lower than attainment for whites and nearly always lower than the level for blacks. These low rates for Latinos persist even in counties with a very small Latino population. Attainment at the other three levels of education (high school entrance, high school graduation, and college entrance) exhibit the same pattern: white attainment is far above minority attainment, and Latino attainment is at a level substantially lower than that of blacks.

Racial inequality is likewise evident in a comparison of attainment levels for the city of Chicago and the suburban ring (DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, and Will counties plus suburban Cook County). The same racial ordering and disparity patterns for college graduation emerge as in the previous analyses (see Table 15). This pattern persists at the other levels of education.

TABLE 15

COMPARISON OF COLLEGE GRADUATION PERCENTAGE RATES IN CHICAGO AND IN SUBURBS BY RACE

	Whites	Blacks	Latinos
Suburbs	21.9	10.9	9.2
City	16.7	7.9	5.1

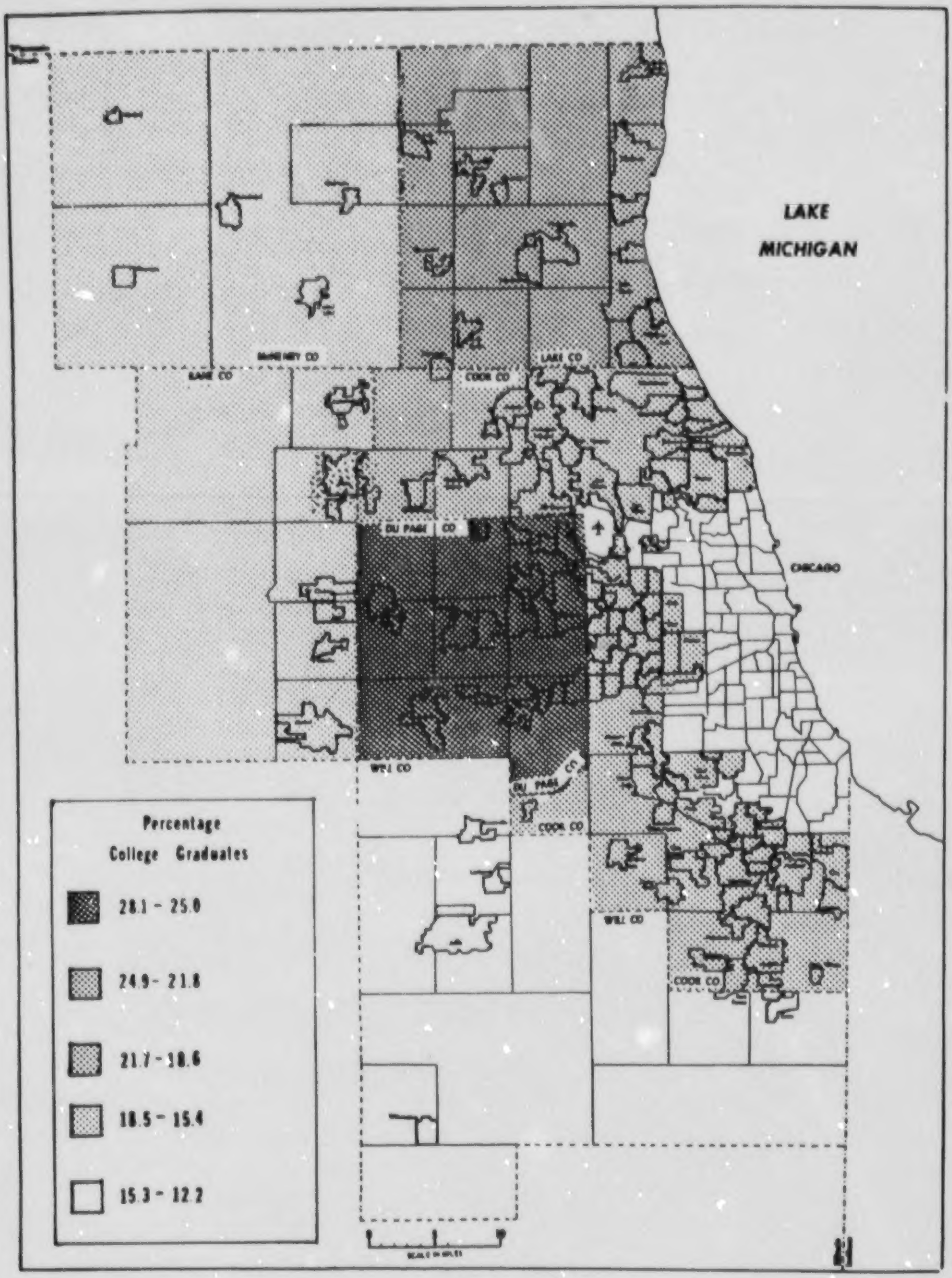
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980.

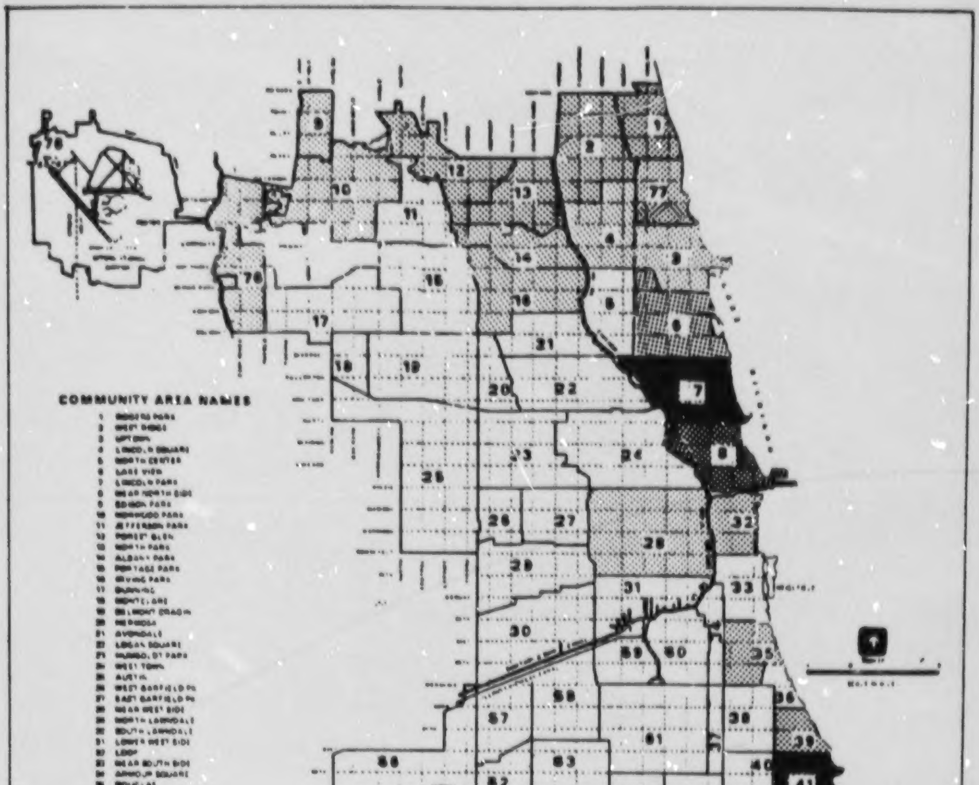
In addition to the existence of very different patterns of educational attainment among racial groups in all parts of the metropolitan area, there is a striking difference between attainment levels in the city and those in the suburbs (for all racial groups). Chicagoans of every race are less likely to reach every level of education than their suburban counterparts.

A closer examination of the communities within the city and the municipalities of 25,000 or more within the suburbs shows substantial differences in levels of educational attainment. As in the entire metropolitan area, inequalities abound both within these geographic categories and among municipalities and communities. Great racial differences can be found in the communities and municipalities of Chicago as well.

Variations of Educational Attainment among Chicago Communities and Municipalities

Among the 39 suburban municipalities with over 25,000 people surrounding Chicago and the 77 recognized communities within the city itself, inequalities of educational attainment abound. Certain communities and municipalities have significantly higher overall levels of education, while many others show marked differences among the racial groups living in one area. Discrepancies also exist between the levels of educational attainment in the city and in the


LAKE MICHIGAN
CHICAGO
McHENRY CO
LAKE CO
KANE CO
COOK CO
DU PAGE CO
WILL CO
Percentage College Graduates
28.1 - 25.0
24.9 - 21.8
21.7 - 18.6
18.5 - 15.4
15.3 - 12.2
SCALE IN MILES


COMMUNITY AREA NAMES
Percentage
College Graduates
56.2 - 47.1
47.0 - 37.9
37.8 - 28.7
28.6 - 19.5
19.4 - 10.3
10.2 - 1.0

suburban municipalities. In general, the municipalities exhibit a higher level of edcuational attainment than does the city.

It is within the borders of the city that the most striking contrasts in attainment levels occur. A substantial majority of the city's communities have extremely low levels of education. Three-fifths of Chicago's communities have 10.2% or fewer college-graduate residents. Two-fifths have 4.8% or fewer college graduates. Almost without exception, these communities lie in the heart of the city. Moreover, virtually all the low income and depressed black and Latino areas of the city fall in these area.

While low levels of education characterize inner-city communities, the lakeshore area from the northern boundary of the city to Hyde Park on the South Side forms an almost unbroken belt of much more highly educated communities. Hyde Park, at the southernmost extreme of the belt, has the highest college completion rate in the city (56.2% college graduates). Yet, immediately to the west of lakefront Hyde Park lies a core of city communities with the lowest levels of education, all with under 5.0% college completion rates. Fuller Park-with a 1.0% completion rate ranking last among city communities-is only two communities west of Hyde Park.

When the figures are differentiated according to race, the inconsistencies in levels of educational attainment are even more pronounced. Overall, whites reach higher levels of education than both blacks and Latinos, with Latinos lagging far behind the other races.

The areas of low white education tend to have substantial minority populations with low levels of education. The lowest percentages of black college graduates can be found in areas with few whites and many blacks and/or Latinos. Latinos have the lowest levels of education in areas with few whites or other Latinos. Conversely, the communities with high levels of education for blacks and Latinos are predominantly white areas. These areas tend to have levels of white education near the median level. This situation is not necessarily because of the racial compositions of the communities, but it could be the result of many interacting factors, which will be discussed later in this study.

Once outside the city, the minority population shrinks and education levels rise. Few areas have over 10.0% black or Latino populations. Of those that do, most have low levels of education for all races. Chicago Heights, with a 70.3% white, 22.0% black, 7.8% Latino population, has college completion rates of 12.2%, 5.1% and .4% respectively. In Harvey, where 40.2% of the population is white, 56.3% black and 3.5% Latino, only 6.0%, 5.0% and 1.1%, respectively, have completed college. These figures constrast sharply with those of an area such as Wilmette, in which 54.2% of its 98.8% white population has graduated from college, 38.5% of its .4% black population, and 39.7% of its .7% Latino population have done so.

Some areas, like Wilmette and Naperville, demonstrate high levels of education for all races. However, these are areas of small minority populations. Other communities show great differences among the races in levels of attainment. Of Evanston's 78.8% white population, 54.0% have completed college. Among its 19.5% black population, only 11.6% has done so. The 1.6% Latino population has a college completion level of 26.3%. In other cases, there is a similar gap between levels of education for blacks and whites within a community.

The suburban municipalities with high levels of education for blacks and Latinos are areas of small minority populations, the municipalities with low levels of education are regions of fairly substantial minority populations. For whites, both the highest and the lowest levels of education are in overwhelmingly white areas. Naperville, in DuPage County, with a 99.0% white population, has 65.7% college graduates. Cook County's Burbank, with a 97.5% white population, has only 4.8% college graduates. Both are almost completely white, but they represent the two extremes of the educational scale.

As was true in the city communities, the percentage of whites completing each level are slightly higher than the percentages of blacks and Latinos within each educational level. In municipalities with the highest ranking rates of completion, the percentages of black college graduates are fairly comparable to the percentages of white college graduates. But, in lower-ranking municipalities, completion levels for blacks tend to fall far behind those for whites. The highest percentages of college graduates of both races tend to reside in predominantly white areas.

Though the overall levels of education for blacks and Latinos in the suburbs are lower than those for whites, they are higher than those for their city counterparts. Blacks in particular achieve at higher levels in the suburban areas than in the city; the highest college completion level for suburban blacks is 60.2% and for city blacks is 38.9%. The situation is similar for Latinos in and outside the city. The levels of educational attainment found in the municipalities are higher in general than the levels in the city for every race, but the differences in suburban and city minority completion are particularly pronounced. Still, in both city and suburbs, minorities have lower levels of education in areas with substantial minority populations.

Many more city communities have extremely low levels of education than do suburban municipalities. Only two of the 39 municipalities, or 5.0%, have below 4.8% black college completion levels, whereas 20.7% of the city's communities have below that number of black college graduates. Even these figures may not fully illustrate the wide variations in educational attainment, for certain municipalities over 25,000 are older, less affluent, less educated areas with higher minority populations. They are closer in character to city communites than their newer, smaller neighbors, which were not considered in this study. When these areas are included, the suburb-city contrast is likely to be even stronger.

Economic Factors Affecting Educational Attainment

Poor quality of education is a problem faced by many of the economically disadvantaged. Without a postsecondary education, individuals often lack the basic skills in English and mathematics necessary for a well-paying job. These people are qualified only for secondary labor market jobs, which require few skills and thus pay low wages and offer few benefits. The economic level of these workers may determine the economic mobility of their children as well. The low family income may mean that higher education for their children is too expensive, and thus, like their parents, the children are not trained for highly-skilled, high-income jobs. Throughout Chicago, areas of low levels of educational attainment have relatively low average incomes and high unemployment rates. Furthermore, blacks and Latinos in these areas are more economically disadvantaged than the whites who live there.

In April 1981, the city of Chicago had the highest unemployment rate (9.1%) in the Chicago metropolitan area, and in 1980 the city had only 17.5% college graduates. DuPage County had the lowest unemployment rate (5.6%) and the highest percentage of college graduates (27.8%) (see Table 16).

Unemployment rates by race for these areas are as striking as the different rates of educational attainment by race. For example, only 6.8% of all whites in the city were unemployed, whereas 13.5% of blacks and 17.5% of Latinos did not hold jobs during July 1980 (Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, 1980). Estimated rates of unemployment for July 1983 were 6.1% for whites

TABLE 16

UNEMPLOYMENT AND COLLEGE GRADUATION PERCENTAGES FOR THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA

	Unemployment Rate April 1981	College Graduates 1980
Cook:		
Chicago	9.1	17.5
Suburbs	6.9	NA
Total	NA	17.1
Will	8.2	13.9
Kane	8.0	16.9
McHenry	7.6	20.1
Lake	6.4	24.4
DuPage	5.6	27.8

Sources: Illinois Bureau of Employment Security, 1983; Census Bureau 1980.

in both the city and the suburbs, and 15.4% and 19.5% for blacks in the same areas (Illinois Bureau of Employment Security, 1983).

Although on the whole blacks complete a higher level of education than Latinos, the average family income of blacks is at least $1,100 less than that of Latinos. And both minorities on the average earn significantly less than whites and complete lower levels of schooling (see Table 17).

TABLE 17

1980 AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME BY COUNTY AND BY RACE, IN DOLLARS

County	White	Black	Latino
Cook	22,779	17,602	18,732
DuPage	34,222	26,320	29,795
Kane	28,423	19,733	21,581
Lake	35,687	20,122	21,856
McHenry	28,381	0	22,138
Will	28,211	20,957	25,014

Source: Census Bureau, 1980.

In the city of Chicago, seven of the 77 communities had an average income of less than $14,800 in 1980, and 20 had an average income of $14,800 - $18,600. Of these 27 lower-income communities, at least 14% of the residents in 12 communities were unemployed, and less than 10% of the individuals in 20 communities were college graduates (Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, 1980).

Private School Enrollment

It is commonly thought that the student who attends a private rather than a public high school will be better prepared to pursue and more highly motivated to seek a college education. (In this report, private high schools include all non-public high schools.) The availability of, and participation in, private high school education in an area may be an influential factor in motivating high school students within that area to attend college and to choose more selective institutions. For this reason, this report looks at private high school enrollment in metropolitan Chicago. Figures show that there is little difference from county to county among the six counties of the metropolitan area, but there are large variations within the city itself.

The range of percentages of students enrolled in private high schools in the six counties of metropolitan Chicago is small; Cook County has the highest percentage of students enrolled in private high schools at 18.2%, and Lake County has the lowest at 8.9%. The range becomes even smaller when only the suburban metropolitan area is considered-12.8% in suburban Cook County versus 8.9% in Lake County. At 22.7% the percentage of students enrolled in private high schools in the city of Chicago is not extremely high but is about twice that of the suburban counties. But the range across communities within the city itself is quite large-from 64.5% to 1.3%. Beverly, an integrated area in Southwest Chicago near the expanding ghetto, has the highest percentage of private high school enrollment and has almost 50 times as great a percentage of private students as the community with the lowest percentage, Fuller Park.

Table 18 shows the Chicago communities with the five highest and five lowest percentages of students enrolled in private high schools. It also shows, for residents over 25 years of age, the percentage of college graduates and the racial composition of these community areas. This table shows that, within the city, the areas with the highest private school enrollment are in the predominantly white areas of Chicago. The areas with the lowest fraction of students enrolled in private high schools are in black ghetto areas. Data in chapter 8 will show that the areas where there is virtually no access to private education are also areas which offer extremely inadequate public education, even in comparison with other city schools.

TABLE 18

PRIVATE HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Rank	Community	% Private High School Enrollment	% College Graduates	% White	% Black	% Latino
1	Beverly	64.5	33.1	67.0*	10.3*	1.2*
2	Forest Green	64.3	22.6*	76.4*	17.9*	3.5*
3	Bridgeport	57.9	4.9	87.5	.0*	15.5*
4	Edison Park	56.9	13.2	66.8*	.0*	.5*
5	Dunning	55.9	6.7	76.7*	.0*	1.3
73	Englewood	6.0	3.3	.6*	89.7*	.6
74	Near South Side	3.5	9.2	6.4*	88.4	1.4
75	Oakland	3.2	3.4	.6*	99.2	.9
76	Grand Blvd.	3.0	2.9	.0*	55.5*	.1
77	Fuller Park	1.3	1.0	.0*	70.4*	.6

Source: 1980 Census Reports Supplement, City of Chicago Department of Planning.

Note: (*) Data is low because of suppression.

Comparison of Chicago with Other Metropolitan Areas

A comparison of Chicago with the six other most heavily populated metropolitan areas shows some similarities in educational attainment may exist despite the differences in racial composition. These areas of diverse geographical location are Boston, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia. Chicago is representative of the seven areas in its levels of educational attainment for blacks and whites. Latinos in Chicago, however, rank significantly lower than those elsewhere.

Census data suggest that the same rank order that is present inside of Chicago also exists in the other metropolitan areas; for every level of high school and college completed by those 25 years and older, Latinos on the average rank lowest and whites rank highest. About the same percentages of whites and blacks and a lower percentage of Latinos enter high school (averages of 85.4%, 80.8%, and 61.4%, respectively). However, twice as many whites graduate from college than either blacks or Latinos. These conditions exist against a background of various racial compositions: a range of 1.8% to 27.6% among the metropolitan Latino population, and 5.8% to 21.3% percent among the blacks.

The population and levels of attainment are similar for blacks in metropolitan Chicago and Detroit. Chicago has a black population of 20.1% and Detroit's is 20.5%. At the same time, one can see in

Table 19 that the two areas have similar levels of school completion.

TABLE 19

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, 25 YEARS AND OLDER, IN METROPOLITAN CHICAGO AND DETROIT, 1980

	Chicago	Detroit
High School:		
1-3 years	78.3	79.8
Graduate	55.3	55.2
College:		
1-3 years	25.6	23.7
Graduate	8.3	7.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Certain areas of heavier black and Latino metropolitan population have lower completion levels of education for these minority races. In Detroit, blacks rank lowest in high school and college graduation and below average in entrance to high school and college, yet they account for 20.5% of the total population (the second highest concentration, and above the 16.8% average). In contrast, Los Angeles is only 12.6% black, and its blacks complete the highest attainment levels among the seven metropolitan areas (see Table 20).

Similarly, the Latino population in Boston is the lowest of the seven areas at 2.4%, and its attainment levels are the highest. Los Angeles, on the other hand, is the most heavily Latino populated area and below the seven-city average in attainment.

Latinos in Chicago, however, do no fit into this pattern. The Latino population here is the overall lowest in school completion levels, and they account for a lower portion of the population (8.2%, compared with the 10.5% average).

In these metropolitan areas of highest and lowest educational attainment, the school completion rates inside their central cities reflect those of the greater metropolitan region. For example, Latinos in the cities of Chicago and Los Angeles, like their metropolitan areas, rank lowest among the seven cities, while Latinos in the city of Boston rank highest.

The levels of school completion in all seven metropolitan areas are substantially lower for minorities than for whites. Furthermore, the educational attainment of the different races seems to be influenced by the concentration of their population within a given metropolitan area. With respect to the Latino population, Chicago ranks lowest among the seven areas in its levels of educational attainment.

TABLE 20

1980 COLLEGE GRADUATION PERCENTAGES BY RACE FOR 25-YEAR-OLDS AND OLDER IN THE SEVEN MOST HEAVILY POPULATED METROPOLITAN AREAS

Metropolitan Area	Whites	Blacks	Latinos
Boston	25.2	12.0	16.5
Chicago	20.3	8.3	6.2
Detroit	15.4	7.1	9.8
Houston	17.4	12.0	7.4
Los Angeles	19.9	10.9	5.6
New York	22.2	8.8	6.4
Philadelphia	18.7	6.9	10.7
Seven-area average	19.9	9.4	8.9

Source: Bureau of the Census, 1980.

CHAPTER 4

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CHICAGO AREA

American higher education evolved from diverse roots, and the Chicago area contains colleges reflecting all parts of that tradition. The large number of institutions with a variety of origins, traditions and missions makes the system difficult to describe and renders analysis of its impacts a challenging task.

Origins

The earliest colleges tended to have religious roots and an implicit role of perpetuating the role of high status families. As Illinois society developed and Chicago grew rapidly in the late 19th century, a wider variety of educational institutions began to emerge. Public education assumed increasing significance but remained a small part of a basically private system.

Highest status in higher education continued to go to traditional institutions built around the "collegiate way." "The collegiate way is the notion that a curriculum, a library, a faculty and students are not enough to make a college. It is an adherence to the residential scheme of things. It is respectful of quiet rural settings, dependent on dormitories, committed to dining halls, permeated by paternalism" (Rudolph, p. 87). Almost as elusive as the collegiate way is another goal of a college education-moral and intellectual formation. Belknap and Kuhns (1977) define one important mission of the university to be the preparation of the student as a responsible, self-conscious and informed member of society. In the late 20th century, the American university sees its mission as one of practical training and, more importantly, of moral and intellectual formation through teaching and research.

Two-Year Institutions

The somewhat abstract mission of the four-year institution contrasts sharply with the ambivalent and far more pragmatic goals of the American two-year college, an institution not firmly established until the mid-20th century. On the one hand, the community college aims to afford equal opportunity for postsecondary education to all members of society, thus providing ultimate access to four-year institutions. On the other hand, the two-year college provides direct benefits to the community by offering vocational training, remedial courses, community activities, and lifelong learning (Breneman and Nelson, 1981, chap. 5). The ambivalence of mission is accompanied by a lower prestige of the community college among institutions of higher education (Gleazer, 1980) precisely because of the attributes that characterize these colleges-that is, an open admissions policy and low tuition.

The mission of the junior college to expand access has always been mitigated by its failure to graduate a large percentage of its students. Clark (p. 69), in a work that preceded the phenomenal expansion of community colleges in the sixties, views this "cooling out" as a function of two-year colleges: "Caught between its own open door and the standards of other colleges, therefore, an unselective two year college needs to 'administer' the student who is, in fact, destined to be a terminal student. . . . The procedure-shaping type of student is the latent terminal, the 'overintender' whose transfer status as student belies his terminal future." According to Clark, the function of the two-year college is only in part to provide equal opportunity to higher education; it must also administer latent terminals, redirecting them to vocational programs.

An alternative view of the community college's mission is offered by Edmund Gleazer (1980), president of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges. He envisions the community college as a community-based learning center, which links learners of all ages with resources. This view precludes the academic mission of the junior college, since it deemphasizes credits, requirements, and transfer. The reason for Gleazer's shift in focus is clearly related to the second-rate status that community colleges have held; "If [the community college] limits itself to the conventional academic area . . . it remains the lower level of a pyramid of academic prestige"(Gleazer, 1980, p. 38). Neither view, of course, emphasizes academic achievement, and neither is communicated to students who think that they are going to college.

The diversity of higher education in the Chicago area typifies that of the nation in its representative institutions and in their missions. All institutions provide moral, intellectual, and practical training to varying degrees. Private institutions offer a greater emphasis on spiritual commitment through collegiate involvement. Public institutions attempt to educate both intellectually and professionally a broad range of state residents. Two-year institutions provide continuing education, vocational, and baccalaureate programs to all through an open admissions policy.

Higher education is represented in the Chicago metropolitan area by a wide range of institutions, including vocational proprietary schools, liberal arts colleges, public and private universities, professional and graduate schools, theological institutes, and two-year community colleges. This study excludes theological institutions, other single-purpose institutions, proprietary (for-profit) schools, and one public community college (the Urban Skills Institute, whose program is pre-collegiate).

The private institutions, many of which date from the 19th century and have a religious affiliation, include small liberal arts colleges such as Lake Forest, as well as large universities with an international reputation, such as Northwestern and the University of Chicago. The public institutions include the University of Illinois at Chicago (the recently merged Chicago Circle campus and the medical school), three other state universities, and 21 community colleges (of which nine constitute the Chicago City Colleges system).

The roles of the public institutions--many of which evolved from normal (teacher-training) schools dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries-have been defined and clarified since 1960 by the Illinois Board of Higher Education. This board was created in 1961 to coordinate matters of higher education in order to provide adequate educational services to the growing college age population. The board, which has heretofore published four master plans outlining the mission and function of Illinois institutions of higher education (1964, 1966, 1971, and 1976), coordinates five subsystems, designated in Table 21.

TABLE 21

HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS SUPERVISED BY THE ILLINOIS BOARD OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Board of Regents	SIU Trustees	Junior College Board	Board of Governors	University of Illinois
ISU NIU SSU	Carbondale Edwardsville	40 Community Colleges	CSU EIU NEU WIU GSU	Urbana Chicago

The state institutions charge relatively low tuition to state residents and enroll larger numbers of students than the private schools; they are frequently chosen by residents of the Chicago metropolitan area.

The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign dominates the public system not only because of the breadth and quality of its programs, both graduate and undergraduate, but also because of its research. It is one of the nation's highest ranked public universities. This dominance in the public sector of Illinois higher education by a downstate institution, coupled with the large number and high quality of private institutions in the Chicago area, have hindered the development of public higher education in the Chicago metropolitan area. Within the University of Illinois, the Chicago campus, a commuter school that attempts to provide quality education to a broad representation of Chicago's varied population, must compete directly with the more selective University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The Urbana branch has an international reputation for excellence, both in research and program quality. Therefore, it can compete much more effectively for both state and federal funding than its Chicago counterpart in spite of the strong faculty and ambitious gaols of the Chicago campus.

UIC is a crucial institution for mobility of black and Latino students in metropolitan Chicago. UIC is the most prestigious and influential public institution in the metropolitan area, it is built just outside the Loop and is very accessible to huge concentrations of black and Latino population. It immediately adjoins both the West Side ghetto and the largest Mexican-American settlement in metrtopolitan Chicago. It obtained its site in return for a commitment to an urban mission.

In recent years, however, UIC has become a far less important institution for black mobility and has experienced a drastic decline in black enrollment. Between fall 1979 and fall 1983, the campus total enrollment remained around 20,000 but its percent black dropped frm 18.3% to 11.7%. During this four year period the number of blacks enrolled fell 38%. The sharp decline was related to the rise of a admissions standards instituted in 1980 as the university moved to cut out enrollment of seriously unprepared students, though it began earlier. The University was under directions from the State Board of Higher Education to cut back on remedial programs, which the board believed could be more appropriately offered at community colleges. The campuses Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs told the student newspaper that the university lacked resources to deal with the educational problems of poorly prepared students and had decided to simply not admit them.

During the same four years that black enrollment dropped by 38% Asian enrollment climbed 15% and graduate enrollment grew 20%, refecting the new priorities (UIC, *Commuter*, Oct. 19, 1983).

Another cause of the enrollment drop, no doubt, was the soaring tuition at the University of Illinois campus. Between fall 1981 and fall 1984 the tuition and fees at the University rose 50% for students in the first two years and 74% for upperclassmen. (Chicago Sun-Times, April 20, 1984). Chapter 15 documents the failure of the state government to expand student aid to compensate for the tuition costs that were rising far more rapidly than the cost of living to make up for inadequate state appropriations.

The UIC changes reflected state policy. In Sept. 1978 the Illinois State Board of Higher Education adopted resolutions calling on the high schools to assume basic responsibility for remedial work and for a shift of collegiate level remedial training to community colleges:

> Within the structure of postsecondary education, it is the community colleges (with their open admission policies) that should repsond to the remedial needs of the postsecondary students... Degree credit should not be awarded for remedial course work.
>
> During the next five years, the emphasis on remedial programs at the postsecondary level should be at the state community colleges. Community colleges should be increasing their role...while the state universities are decreasing their role. ("Policies Related to the Quality of Education," Approved Sept. 1978).

The policy was tightened in 1981 with a requirement that universities reduce remedial work and eliminate credit for it. The various university governing systems were ordered to submit to the State Board "an assessment of efforts to phase out such course work" and an analysis of the entire problem by mid-1983 (Ibid, Approved, July 1, 1983).

At the same time the Board recommended that all campuses raise their admissions standards. The Board specified "more course work in mathematics and the sciences at the high school level while maintaining a strong commitment to communication skills." (Ibid., Aproved Feb. 1983).

Governors' State University, established in 1968 in the far south suburbs, has never realized its predicted enrollment in its strictly upper-level program, and now it is faced with a declining college-age population. Because it is not centrally located, it does not provide easy access to commuters from most of metropolitan Chicago. Chicago State and Northeastern, both of which evolved from the teachers' institution, Chicago Normal College, had a tradition of underfunding, lax admissions standards, and an uncooperative directing board long before they became a part of the state system in the 1960s (Kearney and Moore, 1978).

The lack of a tradition of excellence in the public institutions of higher education in the Chicago metropolitan area means that students from the Chicago area who wish to attend a state university and can afford residential costs often choose to leave the metropolitan area rather than to attend one of the local state universities. The University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago State University, and Northeastern University are primarily commuter colleges. Students from the metropolitan area who cannot afford room and board, and consequently must commute to an institution of higher education, cannot choose among the more selective downstate public universities (see Table 22); they are obliged to choose among those that lack a tradition of academic distinction. The choice includes the least selective of the state institutions of higher education.

The modern community college actually has its origin in the Chicago area: "The first 'junior college' was established at the University of Chicago in 1896, and the first Associate in Arts degree was awarded by that same institution several years later. . . . The first independent public community colleges were established in Joliet, Illinois, in 1901 and in Fresno, California, in 1910" (Pincus, 1980, p. 337).

Illinois, like the nation as a whole, saw a very dramatic expansion of higher education in the sixties and important changes in its character. Until the sixties, higher education in the state had always been primarily private. By 1961, however, most Illinois students were in public colleges. The number of college students soared during the sixties, spurred both by the great increase in the demand for college training and the arrival of the baby boom children on campus. Most of the growth was in the public sector, which had Illinois enrollments soaring from 96,000 students in 1960 to 325,000 students in fall 1970, an increase of 238% (Holleb, 1972; p. 59). By the 1969-70 academic year, 63% of undergraduates were in public institutions, including three of every four underclassmen (Holleb, 1972).

The most rapidly growing sector was the community college system. These institutions, which were under the control of local public school districts until 1965, were seen as a vital resource to meet the expanding college demand, and the state undertook a large construction program, substantially transforming the nature of access to low-cost public education in the metropolitan Chicago area. This was the same period that saw the construction of a vast new campus for the University of Illinois's Chicago campus, an institution that was expected to carry out an urban mission supplementing the efforts of the highly ranked "flagship" campus in

TABLE 22

CLASSIFICATION OF SELECTED FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA

Barron's Categ.	Ph.D. Fac (%)	ACT (1981)	Astin	Carnegie
Highly competitive:				
University of Chicago	99	28	7 (29)	1.1
Norhwestern Univ.	90	29	6 (27)	1.1
Very competitive:				
Lake Forest College	96	25	6 (27)	3.1
Wheaton College	70	26	5 (26)	3.1
Ilinois Inst. Tech.	70	24	6 (27)	1.2
Competitive:				
DePaul Univ.	68	23	3 (22)	2.1
North Cent, Naperville	65	23	4 (24)	3.2
Roosevelt Univ.	61	22	3 (22)	2.1
Lewis Univ., Romeoville	36	18	3 (21)	2.1
Loyola Univ.	87	22	4 (24)	1.3
Univ. of Ill, Chicago	72	NA	NA	2.1
Rosary College, River For.	70	22	5 (25)	3.1
Concordia, River Forest	55	21	4 (23)	2.2
Ill. Benedic., Lisle	52	21	NA	NA
Elmhurst College	50	20	4 (24)	3.2
North Park College	36	20	4 (23)	3.2
Col. of St. Fran., Joilet	30	21	1 (18)	3.2
St. Xavier	NA	20	4 (23)	3.2
Less competitive:				
Northeastern Ill. Univ.	67	14	3 (21)	2.2
George Williams College	61	15	2 (19)	3.2
Chicago State Univ.	61	13	2 (19)	2.1

downstate Urbana-Champaign. Across Illinois, the community college enrollment skyrocketed from 64,000 enrolled students on 23 campuses before 1965 to 170,000 students on 46 campuses by 1970 (Nowlan, 1976, p. 78).

As higher education expanded in Illinois, so did the participation of minority students, but the expansion was concentrated on a very small number of institutions. In 1967, less than 6% of Illinois freshmen were black, but the number had increased to more than 11% by 1970. Although there were more than 130 higher education institutions in Illinois in 1970, 33% of the state's black collegians (and 43% of freshmen and sophomores) were enrolled in the Chicago community colleges and almost none in the rapidly developing suburban campuses. One of the state's universities, Chicago State University, was already 60% nonwhite (Holleb, 1972, pp. 66-69).

When City College professor Meyer Weinberg studied the implications of the rapidly developing system in 1971, he documented the high level of racial and class segregation already present in the City Colleges system, noted that the Chicago school board, which had formerly directed the system, had chosen segregated sites for the campuses, and showed that the minority campuses had students with far lower average levels of high school preparation and academic achievement (Weinberg, 1981, chaps. 1-3). Doris Holleb (1972, p. 69) also pointed to the threat of segregation within the developing system. The issue, however, received no significant policy attention.

Classification

It is difficult to rank institutions of higher education because many factors contribute to their strengths and because judgments on some dimensions are subjective. There are, nevertheless, significant differences among institutions that correlate strongly with selectivity, academic ability of the students, and scholarship of the faculty. Several guides to institutions of higher education provide information concerning location, size, admissions requirements, faculty qualifications, curriculum, and so forth. *Barron's Profiles,* which is acknowledged as a reliable and reputable source, categorizes colleges according to an admissions selector rating based on the following qualifications of those admitted: high school rank, average test scores, and percentage of applicants accepted. The Barron's categories include the following:

MOST COMPETITIVE: high school top 10%-20%, A to B+; SAT 625-800, ACT 27+; 1/3 applicants admitted.

HIGHLY COMPETITIVE: high school top 20%-35%, B+ to B; SAT 575-625, ACT 26-27; 1/3-1/2 applicants admitted.

VERY COMPETITIVE: high school top 35%-50%, B-; SAT 575-625, ACT 23-25; 1/2-3/4 applicants admitted.

COMPETITIVE: high school top 50%-65%, B- to C+; SAT 450-525, ACT 19-22; 75%-85% applicants admitted.

LESS COMPETITIVE: high school top 65%, C; SAT 450, ACT 19; 85% applicants admitted.

Table 22, shows Barron's classifications for selected four-year institutions in and outside the Chicago metropolitan area that receive the largest number of transfer students from metropolitan community colleges. Within the Barron's categories, the institutions are classified according to the number of Ph.D.'s on the faculty. This classification corresponds closely with the ranking by ACT average which is given in Table 22 and rearranged in order in Table 23. These are metropolitan Chicago institutions with enrollment greater than 1,000.

The Barron's ratings are similar to the Carnegie and the Astin rankings, also provided in Table 22. The Carnegie ranking categorizes four-year institutions into three classes: doctoral granting, comprehensive, and liberal arts. Each subcategory is defined by a different criterion.

TABLE 23

1981 ACT SCORES AND PERCENTILE RANKING FOR SELECTED INSTITUTIONS IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA

Institution	ACT Score	Percentile
Northwestern	29	98
University of Chicago	28	96
Wheaton	26	92
Lake Forest	25	88
I I T	24	84
DePaul Univ. North Central, Naperville	23	80
Loyola University Roosevelt Rosary College	22	75
College of St. Francis Concordia College Ill. Bendictine	21	70
Aurora College Elmhurst North Park St. Xavier	20	64
Lewis	18	52
George Williams	15	34
Northeastern	14	28
Chicago State	13	23

"Doctoral granting institutions" are classified according to the amount of federal financial support for research and numbers of doctorates awarded. "Comprehensive institutions" are classified according to the number of programs offered besides the basic liberal arts programs. "Liberal arts colleges" are classified according to the Astin classification. Because the criteria for classification are not consistent through the three categories, the Carnegie classification only corroborates the excellence of the best institutions; it does not provide a means of ranking the intermediate institutions. The Carnegie breakdown is as follows: (1) doctoral granting-1.1 research I (top 50 in USA); 1.2 research II (top 100 in USA); 1.3 doctoral granting I; and 1.4 doctoral granting II; (2) comprehensive-2.1 comprehensive I (several programs) and 2.2 comprehensive II (at least one program); and (3) liberal arts-3.1 liberal arts I (5+ on Astin scale) and 3.2 liberal arts II (others). The "comprehensive" category includes most state four-year institutions that are not in category 1.

Astin (1971) ranks institutions according to selectivity, based on test scores of students admitted. The ACT scores that he used in 1970 are given in parentheses in Table 22. He divides institutions into seven categories according to test scores--ACT, SAT and NMSQT--of entering freshmen from 1965. Although these scores are almost 20 years old, the Astin ranking is frequently cited; it is for this reason that the ranking is included here. His categories are based on ACT scores and percentile ranking for 1965, as shown in Table 24. As Table 22 shows, there is substantial consistency in college ranking over a 16 year period.

TABLE 24

ASTIN (1971) RANKING SYSTEM

Selectivity Category	ACT	Percentile
7	28+	88
6	26-27	81-74
5	25-26	66-57
4	23-24	57-50
3	21-22	41-34
2	19-21	34-22
1	18 or below	18 or below

This study requires a contemporary ranking of the selectivity of the Chicago-area institutions studied. Current selectivity is rated through the use of average 1981 ACT test scores for students admitted. Since this is the most frequently used test in Illinois, it provides the best single measure of selectivity.

Ranking colleges by selectivity is a highly imperfect measure. It measures the strength of the academic preparation of the incoming class, not the educational program of the college. The quality of students does, of course, very strongly influence the educational potential of a college. These comparisons should not, under any circumstances, be taked as a measure of the teaching done within the colleges. Unfortunately, there is no comparative data on that very important subject. This ranking measures only selectivity not overall quality.

According to 1981 ACT scores, the institutions fall within three groups: highly selective (University of Chicago, Northwestern, Lake Forest, and Wheaton) selective (the middle group) and less selective (Northeastern, George Williams, and Chicago State). The other highly selective campus very important to Chicago-area students is the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign. A comparison of Astin's 1965 ACT scores with the 1981 ones reveals a disproportionate decline between the highly selective and the less selective groups. The average drop in ACT scores nationally between 1972 and 1982 was .7; in Illinois the average decline was 1.2 (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 1984). Comparing the two scores in Table 22, the average drop for the most selective four institutions in Chicago (University of Chicago, Northwestern, Lake Forest, and Wheaton) was negligible. However, the average decline for the three least selective institutions (George Williams, Northeastern, and Chicago State) was 5.6; for Chicago State and Northeastern, the institutions with the largest percentage of minority students and with the largest number of transfers from City Colleges, the decline was 6.5.

Relative Standing of Community Colleges

Much more attention has been given to the relative standing of four-year institutions and universities than to the comparison of community colleges. This study is very concerned with the level of success community colleges attain in transferring students enrolled in their baccalaureate programs to four-year institutions. By that standard, there is a clear system of stratification, reflecting differences that will be explored in later chapters. Table 25 reflects a variation of almost 500% between the least and most successful transfer programs. Other measures suggest a somewhat different ranking among institutions, but all will show great differences within a nominally equal system of two-year colleges.

TABLE 25

COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN METROPOLITAN AREA RANKED BY TRANSFER RATE TO FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS

Institution	Percentage of Baccalaurate Transfers
DuPage, Glen Ellyn	26.4
Thornton, South Holland	23.0
Daley, Chicago Community Colleges (CCC)	22.8
Joliet	16.6
Triton, River Grove	14.1
Loop, CCC	13.9
Wright, CCC	13.6
Maccormac	12.4
McHenry, Crystal Lake	12.3
Lake County, Grayslake	12.2
Moraine Valley, Palos Hills	11.8
Morton, Cicero	11.7
Kennedy-King, CCC	11.3
Truman, CCC	11.1
Harper, Palatine	10.6
Oakton, Morton Grove	10.0
Prairie State, Chicago Hts.	9.5
Olive-Harvey, CCC	9.0
Elgin	8.7
Waubonsee, Sugar Grove	8.4
City Wide, CCC	8.0
Malcolm X	5.8

Funding

The community colleges, which are subject to coordination by the Illinois Community College Board and the Illinois Board of Higher Education, actually receive funding and direction primarily from local boards. According to the Illinois State Scholarship Commission, in 1982, community colleges received 33% of their total operating budget from the state, compared with 67% state funding for public universities.

Community colleges receive about 38% of their operating revenues from local government property taxes. Students provide about 19% of the operating revenues for community colleges through the tuition and fees they pay. Community colleges in the city of Chicago rely more heavily on state aid than suburban and downstate colleges (outside the metropolitan area). State aid accounts for

50% of the budget of the Chicago City Colleges compared to 38% of the state community college budget and 30% of the suburban community college budget. The community colleges in the metropolitan area and the state fund the rest of their budget from higher tuition and local taxes. The three types of public funds do not contribute equally to the community colleges' expenditures per student. Chicago City Colleges actually receive a slightly larger amount of money from state and federal aid per student than suburban and downstate community colleges.

It is the difference in the amount of local taxes obtained that accounts for the difference in expenditure per student between the Chicago City Colleges and state and metropolitan community colleges. The Chicago City Colleges receive $201 less per student from local taxes than suburban and downstate community colleges.

While the City Colleges charge about $145 less tuition than suburban and downstate community colleges, they spend $335 less per student. The City Colleges spend $300 and $370 less than suburban and downstate community colleges, respectively. Thus, the lower tuition at the Chicago City Colleges only accounts for 43% of their lower expenditures. Dependence on the weak property tax base of a declining central city is a serious problem.

Mission and Resources

The first mission of the community colleges, as described by the Illinois Board of Higher Education (pp. 50-51), is the transfer function. The Master Plan elaborates several other aims of the community colleges, such as the vocational, remedial, and adult education functions. Although the IBHE's concept of the community college is in many ways admirable, it is, as Weinberg (1970, p. 2) pointed out, quite unrealistic given the limited resources of the community colleges. He listed five specific handicaps in Chicago a decade and a half ago: (1) exceptional dependence on scarce local resources; (2) extraordinary pressure on physical facilities; (3) larger classes than educationally desirable; (4) lack of parity in educational programs arising from differential state support of higher education institutions; and (5) disparity of educational programs because of disparity of neighborhoods sending students to different colleges.

There has been little basic change in the situation of community colleges since Weinberg wrote, mainly because the loss of student population and growth of inflation have required retrenchment and recycling rather than growth (Illinois Community

College Board, 1979). The Community College Board Master Plan discusses extensively the diminishing population base of community colleges and recommends that these institutions refocus to accommodate an older nonacademic population. While the institutions follow this advice, they remain the most important resource for access to college degrees for blacks and Hispanics in Illinois.

Summary

The institutions of higher education in the Chicago area at once reflect the wide diversity of American colleges, the special institutional structure of Illinois state law, and the social realities of metropolitan Chicago. The Illinois system of public education is a highly stratified one in which the highest prestige and selectivity in the public sector is accorded to the dominant downstate institution, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The state has a complicated set of university systems that have developed in metropolitan Chicago a major secondary campus of the state university and several other universities in the lower range of academic selectivity. The two least selective public universities in the state are within the borders of Chicago--Northeastern and Chicago State University--and are the most important four-year state institutions for minority students.

The growth of higher education in metropolitan Chicago in the past generation has been primarily the growth of community colleges, which mushroomed with a surge of state money in the sixties and early seventies. They soon became the basic resource for black education. The city and the suburbs are now served by more than 20 campuses, which faithfully reflect and perpetuate the economic and racial stratification of the metropolitan area.

Among the 58 general-purpose colleges in metropolitan Chicago, the full range of American academic life is represented. The spectrum extends from world-class research and graduate-training institutions to junior colleges where a great deal of the work is at high school level and few students have any reasonable prospect of receiving a baccalaureate degree. Unfortunately, as the later chapters will document, this rich diversity does not offer a full range of unconstrained choices to students; instead it reflects and even intensifies fundamental inequalities built into the society and public schools of Chicago and its suburban ring.

CHAPTER 5

ENROLLMENT ANALYSIS FOR METROPOLITAN CHICAGO INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Between 1960 and 1980, Chicago area colleges and universities saw enrollments almost triple. During this period, institutions of higher education provided increasing access to students from different racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds from various parts of the metropolitan area.

By the end of the 1970's, most institutions around the U.S. were fiscally sound. These institutions gained full-time equivalent (FTE) enrollment because part-time and adult students generally compensated for whatever loss of FTE colleges experienced. In Chicago, the FTE of both the city and the suburbs as a percentage of the total headcount shows extremely low percentages for public institutions, and relatively high percentages for private institutions. The lowest FTE percentage was the Chicago City Colleges and the remainder of Cook County public institutions with about 44% of the headcount. The highest were Lake County private institutions with a total of 88% of the headcount.

The general trend for higher education in Chicago reflects recent data confirming that Illinois' total enrollment in public and private institutions of higher learning has been decreasing since 1979. Table 26 shows the decreases which include a 4.3% drop in fall enrollment from 1982-1983. (IHBE, 1983)

Most of the Chicago metropolitan area experienced decreases as well, along with a substantial 16.7% enrollment headcount decrease for the Chicago City Colleges System.

TABLE 26

FALL ENROLLMENT CHANGE - PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATE OF ILLINOIS 1979-1983

Fall	Headcount	% change
1983	712,933	-4.3
1982	744,636	-0.3
1981	746,913	+4.6
1980	714,218	+7.4
1979	665,247	+0.5

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by The Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

Definitions of Institutions Used to Obtain Enrollment Data

The Chicago metropolitan area consists of the six Illinois counties of Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, and Will. Each county contains a large number of institutions of higher education, varying in purpose and capacity.

The enrollment data used in this section is obtained from the Data Book on Illinois Higher Education. (IHBE, 1983) For purposes of this section, only enrollment data for those institutions which provide baccalaureate training are considered. Enrollment data relating to limited purpose and proprietary institutions are excluded.

For this section, the Chicago metropolitan area will be broken down into the city proper, the remainder of Cook County, the north and northwest counties of Lake and McHenry, and the south and southwest counties of Kane, DuPage, and Will. Table 27 shows the metropolitan area fall enrollment change for all institutions of higher education by area used in this section, 1982-1983, public and private.

TABLE 27

METROPOLITAN CHICAGO FALL ENROLLMENT CHANGE - PUBLIC AND PRIVATE
1982-83

Location	Percent Change Public	Percent Change Private
Chicago City Colleges	-16.7	
Remainder of City	-1.0	-1.7
Remainder of Cook County	+2.9	-5.3
DuPage County		+.8
Kane County	+3.1	-5.0
Lake County	+.8	+10.8
McHenry County		No Change
Will County	-7.2	-.5

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education By The Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

The Chicago City Colleges

In 1982 the Chicago City College System reported an enrollment figure of nearly 110,000 students among its nine institutions. The preliminary data for 1983 shows a one year decline of close to 14,000 students throughout the system, making the City Colleges System the hardest hit in enrollment decreases in Chicago to date (excluding Urban Skills Institute).

The Urban Skills Institute, which had the highest enrollment in the City Colleges System with 41,000 students in 1982, reported a loss of 16,000 students in 1983 -- a 39% decrease in just one school.

The Urban Skills Institute defines it's mission as serving "...a unique and specialized mission within the City Colleges: to provide adult educational services to persons who do not possess either a high school diploma or the General Educational Development (GED) equivalency certificate, and to prepare for entry-level employment through vocational/technical training". (CCC, 1983, p.17) Loop College, located in the Chicago Contral business district, realized the least drop in enrollment with a 3% decrease.

These figures are particularly important because the City Colleges System represents a main route within higher education for Chicago's minorities. Minorities represent 66% of the total City Colleges System enrollment, the highest concentration in the Chicago Metropolitan Area.

Excluding the Urban Skills Institute, the remainder of the Chicago City Colleges are intended historically to: (1) educate the great majority of the junior college population for effective participation in a dynamic society into which these students will immediately go after one or two years of study, and (2) provide the first two years of specialized or pre-professional study for which students who expect to transfer to higher institutions of learning, and (3) offer an extension of the college facilities to the adult members of the community. (Havighurst, 1964, p.290)

A nearly 17% decline in enrollment in the Chicago City College System (see Table 28) represents a loss of close to 14,000 students. (IHBE, 1983) A percentage of these students may have transferred out of the City College System to other institutions or may have begun study at other institutions, but the enrollment data for the remainder of the city does not indicate this. It is more likely that these students dropped out of higher education altogether.

Remainder of The City

Table 29 shows the recognized institutions of higher education in the city of Chicago, public and private, outside the Chicago City Colleges System. These institutions are the likely transfer institutions for students in the City Colleges System.

Although experiencing a smaller decrease in enrollment from 1981-1982, the remainder of Chicago area colleges and universities still reflect the trends of decreasing student enrollment. The FTE

TABLE 28

THE CHICAGO CITY COLLEGES

City-Wide Colleges

Richard J. Daley College
Truman College
Kennedy-King College
Loop College
Malcolm X College
Olive-Harvey College
Wright College

Fall Enrollment Trends	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
Total change - headcount	+11.9	-1.4	-6.7
Total change - FTE	+12.8	-3.3	-13.3

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

and the headcount data dropped nearly proportionately, indicating a closer relationship between the numbers of students enrolled in institutions of higher education in the city (excluding the City Colleges System) and the number of students enrolled full-time. This becomes an important relationship when compared to the spread of decrease between headcount and FTE in the Chicago City College System. The Chicago City Colleges experienced a 6% greater drop in enrollment for headcount data than FTE, indicating more part-time students were lost than students enrolled full-time. The enrollment decrease affected the remainder of the city with no particular effect on either group.

The remainder of Chicago enrollment data for 1983 shows Chicago's public and private institutions having experienced less of a decrease in enrollment from 1982, although this may not be a trend. This is highly unlikely. Institutions of higher education in Chicago outside of the City College System realized a 1% decrease in enrollment in 1981, a 4.5% decrease in enrollment in 1982, and an almost 1.4% decrease in 1983. It appears that enrollment decreases will continue in the city. The suburban counties of Chicago, however, react in different ways to trends of decreasing enrollment.

Remainder of Cook County

The data for the remainder of Cook County, excluding the Chicago city limits, indicate decreasing enrollment lagging about two years behind the city. Table 30 shows that the remainder of Cook County actually experienced an enrollment increase for its

TABLE 29

REMAINDER OF CITY COLLEGES

Public - Chicago State
Northeastern
U of I-Chicago Circle
Private - Central YMCA *
Columbia
DePaul
East-West
Felician
I.I.T.
Loyola
MacCormac
Mundelein
Native American Ed. Services
North Park
Roosevelt
St. Xavier
U. of Chicago

Fall Enrollment Trends	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
Total change - headcount	-1.0	-4.5	-1.4
Total change - FTE	+.04	-3.9	-1.0

Note: (*) Central YMCA College closed in 1982. Data through 1982.

Source: Illinois Data Book On Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

institutions of higher education for 1981-1982. One of the main reasons for the enrollment increases was the emergence of the suburban community colleges. Institutions such as Morton College, Oakton Community College, and Triton College all experienced substantial increases in headcount as well as FTE enrollment. Oakton Community College alone experienced an almost 20% enrollment increase in FTE. The majority of these schools are located in predominantly middle-class suburbs of the city and are often directly fed from neighborhood high schools. Morton College, for example, obtains 80% of its enrollment from the two local high schools -- Morton West and Morton East. (pers. com., Pat Snyder, Dec., 1983) Parents of these students often take courses at night, thus contributing to the increase in headcount for the community college.

TABLE 30

REMAINDER OF COOK COUNTY

Public - Moraine Valley
Morton College
Oakton Community
Prarie State
Thornton Community
Triton Community
William Rainey Harper
Private - Concordia
DeLourdes
Kendall
Mallinckrodt
Nat. Coll. Education
Northwestern
Rosary
Trinity Christian

Fall Enrollment Trend Data	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
Total change - headcount	+1.9	+2.4	-1.51
Total change - FTE	+2.9	+4.1	-1.59

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education

This situation is typical of many suburban Chicago communities, however, while the public institutions for the remainder of Cook County realized a 2.9% increase in 1983, the private institutions realized a 5.3% decrease. This translates into an overall decrease in enrollment for the remainder of Cook County.

The enrollment trend data for the remainder of Cook County is directly related to the communities where the institutions are located. Lake County, located immediately north of Cook County, presents a different view in looking at enrollment trend data

Remaining Counties

The five institutions of higher education in Lake County are located in the middle- and upper-middle class suburbs of Lake Forest, Grayslake, Waukegan, Mount Carroll, and Deerfield. They have a combined white enrollment of 84%, the highest in the Chicago metropolitan area, and a combined black enrollment of 9%, the lowest in the Chicago metropolitan area.

Table 31 shows how the enrollment trends for Lake County appear to be contrary to those in Chicago and the remainder of Cook County.

TABLE 31

LAKE AND MCHENRY COUNTIES

Lake County
Public - College of Lake County
Private - Barat College
Lake Forest
Shimer
Trinity

McHenry County
Public - McHenry County College

Fall Enrollment Trends	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
Total change - headcount	-7.2	-0.6	+5.6
Total change - FTE	-1.9	-1.1	+4.5

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

A 7.2% decrease in 1981 was followed by a slight decrease in 1982, but 1983 realized a substantial increase of 5.6%. The relationship between headcount and FTE was strongest in 1981 when the headcount enrollment decreased substantially, while the FTE decreased only slightly. The 1983 enrollment data show a proportionate increase in both FTE and headcount. In Lake County, the one public institution gained only .8% enrollment in 1983, while the four private institutions increased enrollment by almost 11%.

Directly west of Lake County is McHenry County which has only one public and no private institutions. Almost identical to Lake County's slight enrollment increase of less than a percent, the lone public institution in McHenry County experienced no enrollment change from 1982-1983. This "no-change" status in enrollment for McHenry County and the trend of increasing enrollment for Lake County are significant when compared to the decreases in enrollment in many areas in Chicago and the remainder of Cook County.

Enrollment data for Chicago's west and southwest Counties of Kane, DuPage, and Will show similar increases, although interrupted by a slight decrease of less than a percent in 1982.

An overall picture of enrollment trend data in Chicago shows a definite shift in enrollment from the city to the suburbs. The data flucuates and at times is somewhat uneven, but overall shows strong enrollment decreases in the central city as evidenced by the Chicago City Colleges, lesser decreases for the remainder of the city and Cook County, and little or no decreases with many instances of increasing enrollment in the periphery counties.

TABLE 32

KANE, DUPAGE, AND WILL COUNTIES

Kane
- Public - Elgin Community
  - Waubonsee
- Private - Aurora
  - Judson

DuPage
- Private - Elmhurst
  - George Williams
  - Illinois Benedictine
  - North Central
  - Wheaton

Will
- Public - Governors State
  - Joliet Junior
- Private - College of St. Francis
  - Lewis

Fall Enrollment Trends	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
Total change - headcount	+5.6	-0.3	+0.1
Total change - FTE	+1.4	-0.3	+2.0

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

The most obvious enrollment shift in the Chicago Metropolitan Area is toward the suburban community college, which makes a strong statement about the future of institutions of higher education. An approach that many colleges and universities will need in order to survive in the coming decades will be to keep enrollment steady or growing by appealing to segments of the population that are not within the traditional age range, are less well prepared than is traditional, or have goals outside the traditional view of higher education. Survival will necessitate institutional flexibility to meet these changing demands. An important aspect of higher education in the coming decades will be the participation of minorities. Access and choice for minorities will thus need to be a major concern for institutions of higher education.

A 1981 research report on minority access to higher education concluded that nation-wide,

TABLE 33

TOP 10 CUMULATIVE BLACK ENROLLMENTS IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA BY INSTITUTION - (1982 FALL HEADCOUNT DATA)

Institution	Black Enrollment	% Black	Cumulative Enrollment	Cumulative % of Metro
Kennedy-King	8139	92.2	8139	14.1
Olive-Harvey	6599	90.7	14738	25.5
Malcolm X	5720	86.2	20458	35.4
Chicago State	5660	76.6	26118	45.2
Loop	4930	54.4	31048	53.7
U of I-Circle	2858	12.8	33906	58.0
Triton	1902	8.0	35808	61.3
Thornton	1760	16.1	37568	64.3
City-Wide	1611	24.7	39179	67.1
Truman	1575	14.5	40754	69.8

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

TABLE 34

TOP 10 CUMULATIVE HISPANIC ENROLLMENTS IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA BY INSTITUTION - (1982 FALL HEADCOUNT DATA)

Institution	Hispanic Enrollment	% Hispanic	Cumulative Enrollment	Cumulative % of Metro
U of I-Circle	1590	7.1	1590	11.0
Truman	1219	11.2	2809	19.4
St. Augustine	1010	99.7	3819	26.4
Northeastern	974	9.4	4793	33.2
Wright	956	9.6	5749	39.8
Triton	744	3.1	6493	45.0
Daley	735	7.8	7228	50.1
Loyola	669	4.5	7897	54.7
Loop	558	6.1	8455	58.6
College Lake County	538	4.4	8993	62.3

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

> ...the decade of the 1970's witnessed notable gains in the enrollments of blacks and other minority students. Black undergraduate enrollment, for example, tripled between 19[illegible] and 1978...The enrollment of Hispanic students shows similar long long term gains. The Census Bureau reports an increase of Hispanic students from 242,000 in 1972 to 377,000 in 1978. (USBC, 1979, p. 4)

A report by the National Association of College Admissions Counselors put total minority enrollment at 8% in 1969, increasing to 13% in 1977. (MAHE, Preer, 1981)

The 1980 U.S. Census reported a national black population of 11.7% and a national Hispanic population of 6.4%. (USBC, 1981, p48) Of the over 3,000,000 people in the city of Chicago, 49.5% are white, 39.8% are black, and 14% are Hispanic. Of the nearly 186,000 students enrolled in both public and private Chicago institutions of higher education in 1982, 44.4% were white, 33.9% were black, and 7.2% were Hispanic. (IDBHE, May, 1983)

TABLE 35

CHICAGO CITY COLLEGES MINORITY DATA

Institution	% White	% Black	% Hispanic
City-Wide	54.6	24.7	4.9
Truman	53.8	14.5	11.2
Kennedy-King	2.7	92.2	1.1
Loop	22.0	54.4	6.1
Malcolm X	3.6	86.2	4.8
Olive-Harvey	2.3	90.7	2.4
Daley	76.1	12.7	7.8
Wright	70.4	10.9	9.6
Urban Skills Ins.	19.2	45.0	27.8

Note: 1982 Headcount Data

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

The Chicago City Colleges

The City Colleges System has traditionally represented one of the main routes to higher education for minorities. One of the purposes of the nine City Colleges of Chicago is to provide access to higher education for the diverse composition of the city.

In comparison to the 1982 city-wide enrollment data, the city Colleges System totals show a smaller white representation of 35.6%, a larger black percentage of 48.2%, and slightly higher Hispanic percentage of 6%.

These data indicate that with a larger minority enrollment in the City Colleges System than in the city totals, the 16.7% decrease in enrollment affects a substantial minority population in the city. With the City Colleges System having the largest minority representation in the entire metropolitan area, and having also experienced the most significant enrollment decrease, access for minorities becomes even more difficult.

TABLE 36

REMAINDER OF CITY MINORITY DATA

Institution	% White	% Black	% Hispanic
Chicago State	14.3	76.6	2.2
Northeastern	69.8	11.8	9.4
U of I-Circle	59.5	12.8	7.1
Central YMCA *	3.7	72.2	9.2
Columbia	55.1	36.0	5.3
DePaul	81.7	10.5	3.7
East-West	1.3	93.7	.9
Felician	28.5	3.6	4.8
I.I.T.	66.3	8.9	2.5
Loyola	75.6	7.5	4.5
MacCormac	43.9	5.8	47.0
Mundelein	71.1	17.1	6.3
Nat. Col. Ed.	57.7	15.9	14.2
North Park Col.	88.5	4.3	4.2
Roosevelt	32.2	13.4	1.8
St. Augustine	0	0	99.7
St. Xavier	89.9	9.2	.2
U. of Chicago	81.8	3.4	1.8

Note: (*) closed 1982, data through 1982.
1982 headcount data

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

Remainder of the City

Compared to the 1982 city-wide enrollment totals, the remainder of the city (excluding the City Colleges System) indicates that the only enrollment representation to be higher is the white representation at 49.8%. The black representation lags behind the City-wide totals at 26.9%, along with a slightly lower 6.6% representation for Hispanics. These data show that minority representation is reversing outside the City Colleges System. A pattern of less minority representation is developing in institutions of higher education, and data will show that the pattern of less minority representation will become increasingly significant for the remainder of Cook and the outlying counties.

Remainder of Cook County

A clear distinction regarding minority representation exists between the institutions of higher education within the city of

TABLE 37

REMAINDER OF COOK COUNTY MINORITY DATA

Institution	% White	% Black	% Hispanic
Moraine Valley	94.4	2.1	1.7
Morton College	92.0	.07	4.4
Oakton Community	92.2	2.0	1.3
Prarie State	81.2	14.3	2.6
Thornton Community	86.8	16.1	2.5
William R. Harper	68.8	0.7	1.5
Concordia	93.7	3.2	0.2
DeLourdes	61.2	14.3	7.5
Kendall	72.4	24.8	0
Mallinckrodt	75.0	3.1	3.5
Northwestern	82.6	6.1	1.0
Rosary	89.4	4.4	2.4
Trinity Christian	92.9	3.1	.4

Note: 1982 headcount data.

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983.

Chicago and those located outside the city limits. Whereas the city-wide total indicated a black and Hispanic enrollment of about 41%, the enrollment data for the remainder of Cook County shows black representation of 6.1%, Hispanic representation of 2.2%, and white representation at 83%.

An example of this pattern is illustrated by enrollment data for Moraine Valley Community College, located in suburban Palos Hills. While realizing the largest enrollment increase from 1981-1982 at 15.6%, it has the largest white representation for the remainder of Cook County with 94.4% and only contains a 3.8% minority enrollment.

This pattern is further evidenced by observing enrollment data from the remaining five counties.

Several conclusions can be drawn concerning minority access to higher education as reflected in data accumulated from the institutions in the Chicago metropolitan area: (1) The institutions most accessible to minority students are the ones experiencing the greatest decreases in enrollment. (2) Excluding St. Augustine college, Hispanic enrollment is never more than 8% anywhere in the Chicago metropolitan area. It averages about 2% and is as low as .4% in McHenry County. Within the city of Chicago, Hispanics compromise 14% of the population while representing only

TABLE 38

REMAINING COUNTIES

Institution	% White	% Black	% Hispanic
Will			
Governors State	74.5	17.2	3.1
Joliet Junior	79.8	8.4	2.8
Coll. St. Francis	93.7	3.5	1.1
Lewis	83.7	1.1	3.0
DuPage			
Elmhurst	94.8	1.7	1.7
George Williams	60.7	8.0	1.3
Ill. Benedictine	34.6	1.0	0.4
North Central	93.4	2.5	1.7
Wheaton	93.7	0.6	0.5
Kane			
Elgin Community	91.5	2.7	1.9
Waubonsee	88.2	4.1	4.4
Aurora	88.1	7.5	2.6
Judson	90.3	6.7	0.7
Lake			
Coll. Lake County	84.1	6.7	4.4
Barat College	90.5	4.7	0.9
Lake Forest	91.8	4.9	0.3
Shimer	64.5	32.2	0
Trinity	89.3	3.7	1.9
McHenry			
McHenry County Col.	98.8	.05	0.4

Note: 1982 headcount data.

Source: Illinois Data Book on Higher Education by the Illinois Board of Higher Education, May 1983

7.2% of the enrollment in institutions of higher education. Ultimately, access to higher education is less available to Hispanics. (3) Because enrollment has remained relatively stable outside the Chicago City Colleges System for 1983, the decrease of nearly 17% in enrollment in the Chicago City Colleges System, one of Chicago's main access for minorities, indicates that these students are not transferring outside of the system.

CHAPTER 6

GRADUATION AND ATTRITION

Some say the college degree, like the dollar, is losing its value. Many recent graduates would probably agree once they face the tough competition of a limited job market. Yet advancements in technology coupled with the shift from an industrial-based economy to one that is service-oriented and knowledge-intensive underscores that college degree attainment has never been more important.

Success in college is an important means to economic and social mobility for those who come from disadvantaged and minority families. Studies indicate, for example, that educational attainment reduces occupational and economic differences (Freeman, 1978; Bowen, 1977, p. 187). Furthermore, higher education has become a necessary credential for entry to advanced fields and leadership positions in the professions, business, and government, where minorities historically have been excluded.

Yet despite efforts to expand educational opportunity, minorities continue to be underrepresented in higher education. Astin (1982, p. 25), likening the educational system to a pipeline, notes that disproportionately larger numbers of minorities drop out at each critical transition point - including high school completion, entry to college, and college completion. Such disparity in bachelor's degree attainment is further exacerbated because minorities tend to be concentrated in two-year and vocational programs, which can have a substantial and negative effect on educational outcomes and aspirations (Breneman and Nelson, 1981, p. 82; Olivas, 1979, p. 41; Cohen, 1982, p. 46).

This chapter examines and compares bachelor's degree attainment in the Chicago area in 1975-76 and 1980-81. It pays special attention to participation and retention of black and Hispanic students and compares them with state and national trends. In addition to bachelor's degree attainment, it studies degrees conferred at both two-year institutions and the postbaccalaureate level (master's and doctorate).

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first looks at college participation. That is, how do the number and percentage of black, Hispanic, and other students enrolled in college compare with their entire college-age population -- those age 18-24?

The second section, the primary focus of the chapter, looks at bachelor's degree attainment. It identifies how many students persist in their studies and complete their baccalaureate degree. This section presents changes in degrees conferred between 1975-76 and 1980-81 and compares by race and ethnicity. These trends then are compared with the changes in the college-age population and enrollment.

It also quantifies college completion rates and examines if attrition levels differ by race and ethnicity and by institution. Rankings are presented, not only of those institutions that graduate the largest number of black and Hispanic students but also of those with the highest completion rates.

The third section looks at associate and certificate level degree attainment. Although the primary focus of this chapter is baccalaureate degree completion, it is important to include educational opportunities provided by two-year institutions. This is because many of the students who enter two-year programs aspire to go on to complete a bachelor's degree.

Finally, the fourth section looks at graduate or advanced level degree attainment. It presents changes in the number and percentage of master's and doctorate degrees conferred by race and ethnicity over the five year period. Here, too, special attention is given to degree completion by blacks and Hispanics and how these minorities compare with their counterparts in all of Illinois and the entire United States.

Scope of Study, Data Sources

This study focuses on degrees conferred by 61 Chicago metropolitan colleges and universities, including four public universities, 32 private colleges and universities, 21 public community colleges, and four private two-year colleges (see Appendix 1). Excluded are 25 limited-purpose institutions, which tend to be smaller institutions and specialized schools such as medicine, law, theology.

The chapter relies primarily on three data sources. College-age population data are from the Bureau of the Census (1970; 1980). Degrees conferred and enrollment figures are from unpublished tabulations provided by the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights (1976; 1981a; 1981b). And the Illinois Board of Higher Education Data Book (1983a) provides additional data on degrees conferred. The IBHE directory and its classified system for institutions are used to identify institutions located within the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (1983b; p. 18-19).

Participation in Higher Education

Financial barriers to college have been reduced through the availability of student financial assistance. This expanded access is reflected by large enrollment growth that has exceeded earlier projections (IBHE, 1983c, p. 7). Minorities also have benefited, as indicated by the fact that nearly half (46%) of all Illinois State Monetary Award Grants to needy students are awarded to minority students (ISSC, 1983, p. 49).

Yet, in spite of efforts to expand access, minorities continue to be underrepresented compared with their share of college-age population (age 18-24). Table 39 shows that this disparity is most pronounced for Hispanics, who represent 10.4% of all college-age population, but only 4.4% of total undergraduate enrollment. Meanwhile, blacks make up 22.2% of all Chicago metropolitan 18-24-year-olds compared with 18.8% of the undergraduate enrollment share.

Why the disparity between black and Hispanic population and undergraduate enrollment? The complete set of factors affecting minority educational progress are complex and beyond the scope of this study, but three factors are most often cited -- lower high school graduation rates, lack of academic preparation, and poorer performance on admissions tests.

Minority high school graduation data are unavailable for the Chicago metropolitan area. However, national figures show that blacks and Hispanics tend to complete high school at lower rates than other students (ACE, 1983, p. 1). Astin (1982, p.51), reports that nationally only 72% of blacks and 55 % of Hispanics finish high school compared with 83% of white students.

Moreover, minorities who graduate from high school are more likely to have difficulty gaining college entrance. Minorities tend to receive more vocational and general education courses in high school than other students (ACE, 1982, p. 8). They also tend to have lower standardized test scores (Astin, 1982, pp. 157-58; ACE, 1982, p. 8). These factors represent additional obstacles for economically disadvantaged and minority students who aspire to go on to college.

Bachelor's degree attainment

One measure of access and choice is participation--or how many students acutally enroll in college. But a more important measure

TABLE 39

CHICAGO METROPOLITAN COLLEGE-AGE POPULATION AND UNDERGRADUATE ENROLLMENT BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, 1980-81

	Population: Age 18-24		Undergraduate College Enrollment	
Race	No.	%	No.	%
Black	200,943	22.2	47,077	18.8
Hispanic	94,477	10.4	10,944	4.4
White/other	610,197	67.4	191,884	76.8
Total	905,617	100.0	249,905	100.0

SOURCE--U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980, Table 213, pp. 164-168.; U.S. Department of Education, 1981a.

NOTE--White/other includes Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens.

and one that more accurately reflects success is degree attainment --or how many students persist in their studies.

Research indicates that blacks and Hispanics have lower college degree completion rates than other students. According to national studies of census data, whites complete college at a rate about a third higher than among black college entrants (Astin, 1982, p. 42). Similar differences are reported between Hispanics and whites (Pasqueira, 1974; Leon, 1975; Guerra, 1970). National longitudinal survey data show similar discrepancies as blacks and Hispanics withdraw from college at higher rates than white students (NCES, 1977). Looking at bachelor degree attainment between 1975-76 and 1980-81 Trent reports that black-white parity remains a distant goal (1983, pp. 13-14).

In the Chicago metropolitan area, a smaller percentage of blacks and Hispanics complete their bachelor's degreees than other students. Table 40 shows that although blacks represent 18.8% of total undergraduate enrollment in 1980-81, they received only 12.0% of all bachelor's degrees. Meanwhile, Hispanics represented 4.4% of enrollment share, while they received 2.9% of all bachelor's degrees.

Figure 8-1 provides a snapshot comparative view of college-age population, enrollment, and bachelor's degree attainment based on data summarized in Table 40. This graph illustrates how the percentage of blacks and Hispanics falls off at each successive stage, while increasing for other students.

State and National Comparisons

Fewer blacks graduated from Chicago area bachelor's degree programs in 1980-81 than five years earlier (see Table 41).

TABLE 40

CHICAGO METROPOLITAN COLLEGE-AGE POPULATION, UNDERGRADUATE ENROLLMENT, AND BACHELOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, 1980-81

	Population: Age 18-24		Undergraduate College Enrollment		1980-81 Bachelor's Degrees Conferred	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Race						
Black	200,943	22.2	47,077	18.8	2,033	12.0
Hispanic	94,477	10.4	10,944	4.4	498	2.9
White/other	610,197	67.4	191,884	76.8	14,384	85.0
Total	905,617	100.0	249,905	100.0	16,915	100.0

SOURCE--U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980, Table 213, pp. 164-168; U.S. Department of Education, 1981a.

NOTE--White/other includes Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens. Figures do not always total 100% because of rounding.

Table 41, shows that the number of bachelor's degrees conferred to blacks by Chicago metropolitan colleges and universities declined by 3.7% (from 2,112 to 2,033) between 1975-76 and 1980-81. In contrast, bachelor's degrees to blacks increased by 2.4% in the United States, while rising .4% in Illinois.

At the same time, Hispanics received a larger number of bachelor degrees in the Chicago area, as well as statewide and nationally.

The decline in the number of bachelors degrees awarded to blacks also resulted in a decline in the percentage of bachelors going to blacks. Table 42 shows that blacks received 12.0% of all bachelor's degrees awarded in the Chicago metropolitan area in 1980-81 compared with 12.7% in 1975-76. Meanwhile, on the state and national level, there was no change in the percentage of bachelor's degrees awarded to blacks.

Changes in Population and Degrees

Looking at degree attainment by percentage change alone can be misleading, especially for blacks and Hispanics, where the absolute numbers are small. For instance, Hispanics received only 2.6%, or

TABLE 41

BACHELOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR UNITED STATES, ILLINOIS, AND CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA 1975-76 TO 1980-81

	1975-76	1980-81	Change in No. of Degrees	Percentage Change
Black:				
United States	59,122	60,533	+ 1,411	+ 2.4%
All of Illinois	3,240	3,254	+ 14	+ .4
Chicago area	2,112	2,033	- 79	- 3.7
Hispanic:				
United States	17,964	21,751	+ 3,787	+ 21.1
All of Illinois	542	724	+ 182	+ 33.6
Chicago area	427	498	+ 71	+ 16.6
White/other:				
United States	841,302	849,299	+ 7,997	+ 1.0
All of Illinois	40,821	40,489	- 332	- .8
Chicago area	14,071	14,384	+ 313	+ 2.2

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1976; 1981b.

NOTE--White/other includes Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens.

427, of all Chicago metropolitan bachelor's degrees in 1975-76. This number increased by 16.6% by 1980-81, but in actual numbers, only 71 more degrees were awarded.

Changing demographics also cannot be ignored. College-age population is growing fastest for blacks and Hispanics. In the Chicago metropolitan area the number of blacks and Hispanics between the ages of 18 and 24 increased 1.8% and 2.1%, respectively, between 1975 and 1980. The remainder of the college-age population dropped 4.0%.

How do degree attainment trends compare with this shift in college-age population? Table 43 shows that, in light of growth in black and college-age population, the underrepresentation of black baccalaureate graduates in the Chicago metropolitan area becomes even more significant. Between 1975-76 and 1980-81 the percentage of bachelor's degrees awarded to blacks decreased .7% (from 12.7% to 12.0%), while the college-age cohort grew 1.8% (from 20.4% to 22.2%). Likewise, Hispanic degree attainment also did not keep pace with its growing Chicago metropolitan college-age population. During this same five-year period the percentage of bachelor's degrees conferred to Hispanics increased .3% (from 2.6% to 2.9%), while the college-age cohort grew 2.1% (from 8.3% to 10.4%).

TABLE 42

PERCENTAGE OF BACHELOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR UNITED STATES, ILLINOIS AND CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA, 1975-76 TO 1980-81

	% 1975-76	% 1980-81
Black:		
United States	6.4	6.4
All of Chicago	7.3	7.3
Chicago area	12.7	12.0
Hispanic:		
United States	2.0	2.3
All of Illinois	1.2	1.6
Chicago area	2.6	2.9
White/other:		
United States	91.6	91.2
All of Illinois	91.5	91.1
Chicago area	84.7	85.0

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1976; 1981b.

NOTE--White/other includes Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens. Figures do not always total 100% because of rounding.

Meanwhile, the college-age population of the remaining non-black, non-Hispanic population declined by 4.0% (from 71.4% to 67.4%). At the same time, bachelor's degrees conferred to this group increased slightly (from 84.7% to 85.0%).

Public-Private Distribution

A larger number of blacks and Hispanics earn their bachelor's degree from private institutions than from public institutions. Table 44 shows that 1,128 blacks (55%) received their bachelor's degrees from a private Chicago metropolitan institution compared with 905 blacks (45%) who graduated from public institutions. Similarly, slightly more than half (53%) of the 498 Hispanic students graduated from private institutions.

Graduation Ratio

To determine the proportion of students who graduated over a four-year period, this section looks at degrees conferred as a percentage of undergraduate enrollment at four-year institutions. This ratio then is multiplied by four to approximate the graduation rate as it would occur over a four-year period. This facilitates a comparative analysis of graduation rates by race and ethnicity.

TABLE 43

PERCENTAGE OF COLLEGE-AGE POPULATION AND BACHELOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR UNITED STATES, ILLINOIS, AND CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA 1975-76 TO 1980-81

	1975-76		1980-81		Percentage Change 1975-76 to 1980-81	
	% Population: Age 18-24	% Degrees Confer'd	% Population: Age 18-24	% Degrees Confer'd	% Population: Age 18-24	% Degrees Confer'd
Black:						
United States	12.3	6.4	13.0	6.4	+ .7	.0
All of Ill.	14.8	7.3	16.1	7.3	+ 1.3	.0
Chicago area	20.3	12.7	22.2	12.0	+ 1.9	- .7
Hispanic:						
United States	6.4	2.0	7.5	2.3	+ 1.1	+ .3
All of Ill.	5.6	1.2	6.9	1.6	+ 1.3	+ .4
Chicago area	8.2	2.6	10.4	2.9	+ 2.2	+ .3
White/other:						
United States	81.3	91.6	79.5	91.2	- 1.8	- .4
All of Ill.	79.7	91.5	76.9	91.1	- 2.8	- .4
Chicago area	71.4	84.7	67.4	85.0	- 4.0	+ .3

SOURCE--U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, Table 215, pp. 679-681, Table 164, pp. 945-947, Table 164, pp. 949-951; 1980, Table 41, p. 23, Table 213, pp. 159-163, Table 213, pp. 164-168; U.S. Department of Education, 1976; 1981b.

NOTE--White/other includes Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens. 1970 Census data is used to determine 1975 population; a constant growth rate between 1970 and 1980 is assumed.

TABLE 44

BACHELOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED BY RACE/ETHNICITY AT CHICAGO METROPOLITAN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS, 1980-81

	Black		Hispanic		White/other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Public	905	45	234	47	3,223	22
Private	1,128	55	264	53	11,161	78

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1981b.

NOTE--White/other includes Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens.

To illustrate, consider that Chicago metropolitan four-year colleges conferred about 15, 766 bachelor's degrees in 1980-81. This represents about .17 of their total undergraduate enrollment of

92,114 during the same year. Multiplying this ratio by four provides an approximation of the proportion of students who graduate over a four-year period. In other words, about .68 or nearly seven out of 10 students go on to graduate.

Caveats

Before presenting and analyzing graduation ratio findings, several caveats should be considered. First, these ratios represent a snapshot view of 1980-81 and therefore do not track a group of students from enrollment to graduation. Nor do they account for transfer patterns in and among institutions. Finally, because the enrollment data is based on head count, it does not adjust for variation in the mix of full-time and part-time students.

In spite of these methodological problems, calculating graduation ratios provides a useful measure of degree productivity as well as a way to compare college completion rates by race and ethnicity.

Minority Retention

Blacks and Hispanics attending Chicago metropolitan four-year colleges have lower bachelor degree attainment rates than other students. Graduation ratios presented in Table 45 show that about five out of 10 black students (.51) go on to receive their baccalaureate degree compared with four out of 10 Hispanics (.41). Meanwhile, about eight out of 10 other students (.81), including whites, Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens, receive baccalaureates.

Although minorities have lower retention rates, irrespective of institutional choice, ratios do differ between private and public colleges. Again, Table 45 shows that about six out of 10 blacks (.61) attending Chicago metropolitan private four-year colleges go on to graduate compared with about four out of 10 blacks (.43) at public institutions.

For Hispanics, the difference in graduation ratios between public and private institutions is greater. About five out of 10 Hispanics (.47) complete their bachelor's degree from private colleges compared with about four out of 10 (.37) in public institutions.

Degrees Conferred by Institution

So far, this study has presented data on bachelor degree attainment in aggregate, summarizing the distribution and changes over time. This section looks at individual institutions and identifies those colleges that graduate the largest number and percentage of blacks and Hispanics. To do this, it ranks institutions by two criteria: (1) those that graduate the most students, and (2) those that demonstrate the highest graduation ratios, thus suggesting that minorities at these institutions have the best chance of persisting with their studies.

TABLE 45

GRADUATION RATIOS: BACHELOR'S DEGREES ATTAINMENT RATES BY RACE/ETHNICITY FOR CHICAGO METROPOLITAN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC COLLEGES, 1980-81

	1980-81 Bachelor's Degrees Conferred	Fall 1980 Undergraduate Enrollment	Graduation Ratios
Black:			
Private	1,128	7,456	.61
Public	905	8,378	.43
Total	2,033	15,834	.51
Hispanic:			
Private	264	2,267	.47
Public	234	2,551	.37
Total	498	4,818	.41
White/other:			
Private	11,161	51,558	.87
Public	3,223	19,904	.65
Total	14,384	71,462	.81
All students:			
Private	12,553	61,281	.82
Public	4,362	30,833	.57
Total	16,915	92,114	.73

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1981a; 1981b.

NOTE--Graduation ratios are based on attainment rates for a single year (degrees divided by enrollment multiplied times four). White/other includes Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens.

Tables 46 and 47 rank the top 10 institutions that graduate the largest number of blacks and Hispanics, respectively. The fact that minorities tend to live and go to college in the city is further substantiated by the concentration of degrees conferred to blacks and Hispanics in urban institutions. For blacks, Governors State and Northwestern are the only suburban institutions ranking in the top 10. For Hispanics, only three out of 10 institutions are

TABLE 46

TOP 10 INSTITUTIONS FOR BACHELOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED TO BLACKS BY CHICAGO METROPOLITAN COLLEGES 1980-81

	Degrees Conferred
1. Chicago State	478
2. Roosevelt	283
3. University of Illinois at Chicago	199
4. Columbia	136
5. Northeastern	129
6. DePaul	124
7. Northwestern	121
8. Loyola	100
9. Governors State	99
10. National College of Education - Urban	61

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1981b.

TABLE 47

TOP 10 INSTITUTIONS FOR BACHELOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED TO HISPANICS BY CHICAGO METROPOLITAN COLLEGES, 1980-81

	Degrees Conferred
1. University of Illinois at Chicago	109
2. Northeastern	89
3. Loyola	57
4. DePaul	52
5. Chicago State	21
6. Elmhurst	17
7. Governors State	16
8. Mundelein	16
9. Northwestern	16
10. Illinois Institute of Technology	14

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1981b.

located out of the city--Elmhurst, Governors State, and Northwestern.

Ranking by total degrees conferred provides one measure of minority access and completion. However, it tends to focus on larger institutions, which by virtue of their size graduate a larger number of students. It also overlooks efficiency, or degree productivity. For instance, colleges with stronger student support services such as academic and career counseling may retain a larger portion of their student bodies.

To measure degree productivity, Tables 48 and 49 rank the top 10 Chicago metropolitan institutions that have the highest graduation ratios (degrees conferred as a percentage of undergraduate enrollment). These rankings, again for both blacks and Hispanics, differ markedly from those of most degrees conferred, which were presented in Tables 46 and 47. Table 48 includes only five of the same institutions that graduated the highest number of black baccalaureates. Roosevelt, National College of Education (Urban), Governors State, DePaul, and Northwestern remain in the top 10 on both lists. Meanwhile, three suburban private colleges--Lake Forest, Illinois Benedictine, and Concordia--enter the top 10 list when degree productivity is considered.

Table 49 shows that, for Hispanics, only six of those institutions that graduated the most Hispanic students also graduated the highest percentage of their Hispanic enrollment. Governors State, Chicago State, DePaul, Northwestern, Mundelein, and Loyola remain in the top 10 on both lists. Here again, three suburban private colleges--this time Rosary, North Central, and Aurora--enter the top 10 list when degree productivity is taken into consideration.

TABLE 48

TOP 10 INSTITUTIONS FOR BACHELOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED TO BLACKS AS A PERCENTAGE OF BLACK ENROLLMENT IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN COLLEGES 1980-81

		% Degrees to Enrollment	Degrees Conferred
1.	National College of Education - Urban	35.3	61
2.	Governors State	29.7	99
3.	George Williams	24.0	23
4.	Lake Forest	21.9	16
5.	Illinois Benedictine	21.7	5
6.	Concordia	20.7	6
7.	DePaul	17.7	124
8.	St. Xavier	17.5	17
9.	Northwestern	17.2	121
10.	Roosevelt	17.0	283

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1981b.

Associate and Certificate Degree Attainment

The success of two-year colleges in graduating their students is linked to baccalaureate degree attainment insofar as many students enter junior college in hopes of going on to a four-year

TABLE 49

TOP 10 INSTITUTIONS FOR BACHELOR'S DEGREES CONFERRED TO HISPANICS AS A PERCENT OF HISPANIC ENROLLMENT IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN COLLEGES, 1980-81

	% Degrees to Enrollment	Degrees Conferred
1. Rosary	30.8	8
2. North Central	27.3	6
3. Governors State	24.6	16
4. Chicago State	19.3	21
5. DePaul	16.9	52
6. Aurora	15.8	6
7. Northwestern	14.2	16
8. University of Chicago	13.6	8
9. Mundelein	13.3	16
10. Loyola	12.7	57

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1981b.

NOTE--Institutions with less than five Hispanic degrees conferred were excluded from the ranking.

program. This is particularly the case for lower-income and minority students, who are more concentrated in two-year programs (Cohen and Brawer, 1982, p. 46; Olivas, 1979, p. 28). Although the primary focus of this study is bachelor degree completion, this section looks at the distribution of and changes in associate degree and certificate award attainment in the Chicago metropolitan area.

Table 50 shows that the 25 Chicago metropolitan two-year colleges graduated 15,627 students in 1980-81. This represents about half (48%) of all undergraduate diplomas. At the same time, two-year institutions enrolled 157,791 students, or about 63% of all undergraduate enrollment.

A larger portion of Chicago metropolitan area students are graduating from two-year programs than bachelor's degree programs compared with five years ago. Table 51 shows that the number of associate and certificate diplomas increased by 12.1% (from 13,943 to 15,627) between 1975-76 and 1980-81, while bachelor's degrees increased 1.8% (from 16,610 to 16,914) during the same period.

A slightly higher proportion of blacks graduate from two-year programs than from baccalaureate degree programs. Whereas about six out of 10 blacks (59%) receive associate degrees or certificate awards, about five out of 10 Hispanics (51%) and a similar number of whites and other students (46%) do so.

For blacks, a growth in the number of two-year diplomas was accompanied by a simultaneous decline in the number of bachelor's degrees. Table 51 shows that, between 1975-76 and 1980-81, the number of blacks receiving associate and certificate diplomas increased 12.2% (from 2,587 to 2,902) while the number of bachelor's degrees declined by 3.7% (from 2,112 to 2,033).

TABLE 50

DISTRIBUTION OF UNDERGRADUATE ENROLLMENT AND DEGREES CONFERRED BETWEEN TWO-YEAR AND FOUR-YEAR CHICAGO METROPOLITAN INSTITUTIONS, 1980-81

	Enrollment		Degrees Conferred	
	No.	%	No.	%
Associate degrees and certificate awards (two-year institutions)	157,791	63	15,627	48
Bachelor's degrees (four-year institutions)	92,114	37	16,914	52
Total undergraduate	249,905	100	32,541	100

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1981a; 1981b.

TABLE 51

DEGREES CONFERRED AT BACHELOR'S AND ASSOCIATE LEVELS AND BY RACE/ETHNICITY IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN COLLEGES, 1975-76 TO 1980-81

	1975-76	1980-81	No. Change	Percentage Change
Associate degree certificates:				
Black	2,587	2,902	+ 315	+ 12.2
Hispanic	305	522	+ 217	+ 71.1
White/other	11,053	12,203	+1,150	+ 10.4
Total	13,943	15,627	+1,684	+ 12.1
Bachelor's degrees:				
Black	2,112	2,033	- 79	- 3.7
Hispanic	427	498	+ 71	+ 16.6
White/other	14,071	14,383	+ 312	+ 2.2
Total	16,610	16,914	+ 304	+ 1.8

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1976; 1981b.

NOTE--White/other includes Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens.

Graduate Degree Attainment

Lower high school graduation rates, higher college attrition, and concentration in two-year and vocational degree programs all result in a continued underrepresentation of minorities at the postbaccalaureate level. According to an American Council on Education study (1982, p.13) on the progress of minorities in higher education, the number of blacks enrolling in graduate and professional schools is cause for concern. Study findings include that between 1976 and 1980 both the number and percentage of blacks and Native Americans enrolled in graduate school declined. During this same period, the number of blacks receiving master's degrees declined 16%, four times more than the decline for nonblacks (Hill, 1983, p. 14).

This reported national decline in minority participation at the post-baccalaureate level also has occurred in the Chicago metropolitan area. In fact, a comparison of master's and doctorate degree attainment in the Chicago area with that of state and national trends indicates that, in certain instances, the Chicago metropolitan area has experienced greater erosion.

Master's Level

Fewer blacks received master's degrees in 1980-81 than in 1975-76. This decline occurred not only at the national and state levels but within the Chicago metropolitan area. Table 52 shows that, during this five-year period, the number of master's degrees conferred to blacks in the Chicago area declined by 23.2% (from 1,123 to 863), by 29.7% throughout the state of Illinois (from 1,554 to 1,093), and by 15.8% across the United States (from 20,345 to 17,133).

Similarly, the proportion of black master degree graduates also declined at all three levels. Chicago metropolitan institutions experienced the sharpest declines relative to their position five years earlier. Table 52 shows that by 1980-81 the percentage of master's degrees to blacks dropped 3.2% in the Chicago metropolitan area (from 13.1% to 9.9%) compared with a 2.1% decline throughout Illinois (from 8.8% to 6.7%) and a .8% decline in the entire United States (from 6.6% to 5.8%).

Meanwhile, for Hispanics, the number and percentage of master's degrees conferred remained virtually unchanged in the Chicago metropolitan area, while increasing at the state and national levels. The proportion of master's degrees conferred to Hispanics at Chicago metropolitan institutions remained at 1.6%, compared with a .4% increase throughout Illinois (from 1.1% to 1.5%) and a .5% increase across the United States (from 1.7% to 2.2%).

TABLE 52

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MASTER'S DEGREES CONFERRED BY RACE/ETHNICITY IN UNITED STATES, AND CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA 1975-76 TO 1980-81

	1975-76		1980-81	
	No.	%	No.	%
Black:				
United States	20,345	6.6	17,133	5.8
All of Illinois	1,554	8.8	1,093	6.7
Chicago metro	1,123	13.1	863	9.9
Hispanics:				
United States	5,299	1.7	6,461	2.2
All of Illinois	203	1.1	246	1.5
Chicago Metro	134	1.6	143	1.6
White/other:				
United States	283,619	91.7	270,588	92.0
All of Illinois	15,962	90.1	15,083	91.8
Chicago metro	7,333	85.4	7,670	88.4

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1976; 1981b.

NOTE--White/other includes Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens. Figures do not always total 100% because of rounding.

Finally, the number of master's degrees conferred to nonblack and non-Hispanic students increased in the Chicago metropolitan area while declining at both the state and national levels. Table 53 shows that the number of master's degrees to white and other students (including Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens) rose 4.6% (from 7,333 to 7,670) during this five-year period.

Doctorate Level

Both the number and percentage of doctorate degrees conferred to blacks declined at Chicago metropolitan colleges and universities, while increasing at the state and national levels. Table 53 shows that the number of doctorate degrees conferred to blacks in the Chicago area decreased by 28.1% (from 32 to 23) between 1975-76 and 1980-81. Meanwhile, the number of graduating black doctorates increased by 28.9% for the entire state of Illinois (from 76 to 98) and by 4.3% in the United States (from 1,213 to 1,265).

At the same time, Chicago metropolitan colleges and universities conferred a smaller percentage of doctorate degrees to blacks than either all of Illinois or the United States, although the black population is larger

TABLE 53

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PH.D. DEGREES CONFERRED BY RACE/ETHNICITY IN UNITED STATES, ILLINOIS, AND CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA, 1975-76 TO 1980-81

	1975-76		1980-81	
	No.	%	No.	%
Black:				
United States	1,213	3.6	1,265	3.8
All of Illinois	76	3.8	98	4.8
Chicago area	32	3.5	23	2.6
Hispanic:				
United States	396	1.2	479	1.5
All of Illinois	9	.4	26	1.3
Chicago area	5	.6	3	.3
White/other:				
United States	32,178	95.2	31,119	94.7
All of Illinois	1,940	95.8	1,919	93.9
Chicago area	871	95.9	865	97.1

SOURCE--U.S. Department of Education, 1976; 1981b.

NOTE--White/other includes Asians, American Indians, and nonresident aliens.

in the Chicago area. Blacks represented 2.6% of all Chicago metropolitan doctorate degrees conferred in 1980-81, down from 3.5% in 1975-76. This percentage of black doctoral graduates is below both Illinois (4.8%) and the United States (3.8%).

Only three Hispanics graduated with doctorate degrees from Chicago metropolitan colleges and universities in 1980-81, down from a total of five in 1975-76. Table 53 shows that a decline in both the number and percentage of Chicago area Hispanic doctoral graduates occurred, while the entire state of Illinois and United States experienced increases.

Conclusion

Access and equal educational opportunity can be measured by participation, or enrollment. But a more important measure and one that more accurately reflects success is degree attainment, or who graduates.

An examination of bachelor's degree attainment in the Chicago metropolitan area reveals three findings. First, a smaller percentage of black and Hispanic college students attain their baccalaureate degree compared withother students. Second, between 1975-76 and 1980-81, bachelor's degree attainment for blacks and Hispanics declined in comparison with growth in their respective college-age population. And third, the number of bachelor's degrees conferred to blacks during this same period declined, despite growth in the college-age cohort. Specifically, this chapter reports the following findings: Blacks received 12.0% of all bachelor's degrees in 1980-81, while representing 18.8% of total Chicago metropolitan undergraduate enrollment. Hispanics received 2.9% of all bachelors compared with 4.4% of enrollment share. The percentage of bachelor's degrees conferred to blacks declined by .7% (from 12.7% to 12.0%) between 1975-76 and 1980-81, while black college-age population rose 1.9% (from 20.3% to 22.2%). The Hispanic share of bachelor's degrees during this period rose .3% (from 2.6% to 2.9%), while its college-age cohort rose 1.2% (from 8.2% to 10.4%). The number of bachelor's degrees to blacks declined 3.7% (from 2,112 to 2,033) during the five-year period studied, while at the state and national levels little or no change was reported.

Why this disparity in degree attainment? Data indicate that this gap in baccalaureate degrees conferred occurs not only because blacks and Hispanics have higher attrition rates within four-year institutions but also because these minorities are more concentrated in two-year institutions. A comparison of degrees conferred with enrollment at four-year institutions shows lower graduation ratios for blacks and Hispanics. The maldistribution of minorities in two-year programs is illustrated by the fact that, while fewer blacks received bachelor's degrees, a larger number of blacks received associate degree and certificate awards.

In addition, the study finds that minorities tend to be more concentrated in urban institutions than suburban institutions and that more than half of all blacks and Hispanics receive their baccalaureate from private colleges or universities.

Finally, at the postbaccalaureate level, minorities are even less respresented in terms of degrees conferred. The reported national decline in minority participation in graduate and profession schools also has occurred in the Chicago metropolitan area. In fact, a comparative look at master's and doctorate degree attainment with state and national trends indicates that, in certain instances, the Chicago area has experienced greater erosion.

PART II

PATTERNS AND CAUSES OF INEQUALITY

CHAPTER 7

HIGH SCHOOL STRATIFICATION

A student's high school eduation plays a crucial role in his or her access to and choice of higher education. During high school, students make decisions and lay the groundwork for their academic futures. Their futures are significantly affected by both the quality of their high school educations and the help the schools provides in college admissions. A well-prepared student has broad access to and choice among institutions of higher education, while an ill-prepared student may find the opportunities limited or severly restricted. Because of the important relationship between preparation in high school and choice and access to college, high schools are important factors in educational channeling.

This chapter and the next chapter will examine several aspects of high school education in the Chicago metropolitan area. First, the racial and economic composition of city and suburban high schools will be described. Since earlier chapters have shown that college enrollments are highly stratified by race and income, it is important to look for these patterns on the high school level. Second, several indicators of the quality of a school's preparation - student-teacher ratios, the availability of teachers for selected college preparatory fields of study, the availability of pre-college standardized tests, and reading test scores - will be analyzed to assess the kind of preparation afforded by various schools. Finally, the attrition rates of the high schools will be analyzed.

What emerges from this analysis of city and suburban high schools is a picture of two very different, and very separate, educational systems. High schools in different parts of the Chicago area prepare students for college in fundamentally different ways.

The Chicago Public High School System

Seventy public high schools in Chicago were included in this analysis of enrollment for the 1982-83 school year. While there are several types of public secondary schools in Chicago, only regular high schools were included in this study, not vocational and educational guidance centers or child-parent centers. These schools are the main feeders into the higher education system and thus are most relevant to the study of channeling.

Taken as a whole, the Chicago public high school student body is composed of 78% minority students (62% black and 16% Hispanic) and 22% white students[1] (see Table 54 and Figure 1). Fifty-eight percent of its students come from low-income families.[2] The high schools are becoming steadily more heavily minority and poorer.

TABLE 54

RACIAL AND ECONOMIC COMPOSITION OF CHICAGO PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

	Number	Percent
WHITE		
White	22400	19.2
Asian/Pacific Islander	3293	2.8
Alaskan/American Indian	155	.1
Subtotal	25848	22.1
MINORITY		
Black (non-Hispanic)	72042	61.9
Hispanic	18559	15.9
Subtotal	90601	77.8
TOTAL	116449	100.0
LOW-INCOME	67821	58.2

Distribution of Students by Race

The distribution of Chicago public high school students by race is highly skewed. Three of the seventy schools in Chicago are near the district average of 70% to 80% minority. Twenty-three schools have less then 70% minority enrollments. Thirty-eight schools have more than 80% minority enrollments, twenty-nine of which are 99% to 100% minority; these school are listed in Table 55.

Most of the schools with 99% to 100% minority enrollments are composed almost exclusively of black students. Twenty-six schools have black enrollments of between 99% and 100%. Sixty-eight percent of Chicago's black high school students attend all-minority schools.

A separate analysis of Hispanic schools, that is, schools with a student body of 50% or greater Hispanic enrollment, indicates that these schools contain half (50.3%) of the city's total Hispanic

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[1] Students who are Asians/Pacific Islanders or Alaskans/American Indians have been included in the figures for white students throughout this analysis as they comprise less than 3% of the city's high school students and they are concentrated in predominantly white schools.

[2] The Illinois Board of Education defines a low-income student as "a person five to eighteen years of age inclusive who either comes from a family receiving public aid, lives in an institution for neglected or delinquent children, or lives in a foster home that is funded with public money." While school districts were instructed to use this definition when reporting to the State Board of Education, some districts noted that their figures reflected instead the number of children eligible for reduced price or free milk or school lunches.

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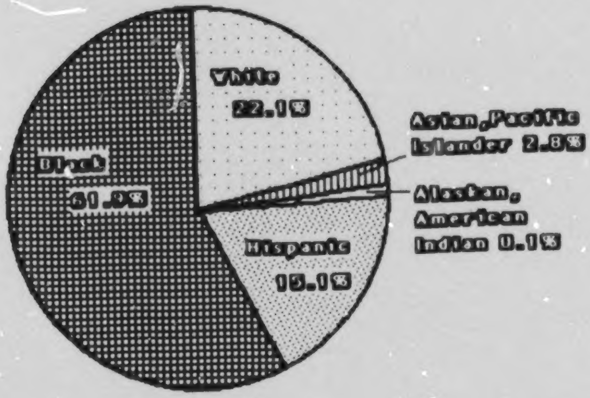
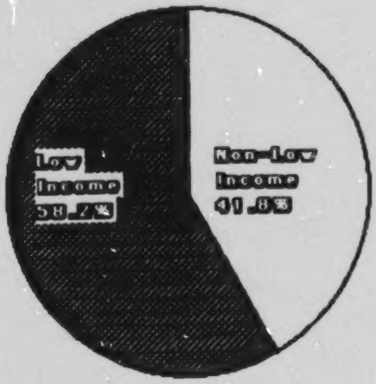
Figure 1 : Racial and Economic Composition of Chicago Public High School

(a) Race



(b) Income



Source: Illinois Board of Education, 1982-1983 Public School
Fall Enrollment and Housing Report

TABLE 55

CHICAGO'S COMPLETELY MINORITY HIGH SCHOOLS (99%-100% MINORITY ENROLLMENT)

School	% Black	% Hispanic	% Low-Income
Bowen	49.0	50.0	50.7
Orr	78.7	20.6	80.5
Hirsch	99.7	.1	100.0
Carver	99.9	.0	57.4
Fenger	99.4	.5	69.4
Calumet	100.0	.0	79.6
Harlan	99.9	.1	73.4
Harper	100.0	.0	90.4
Hyde Park	99.7	.3	58.4
Marshall	100.0	.0	83.3
Phillips	100.0	.0	99.5
South Shore	99.9	.05	53.7
King	100.0	.0	100.0
Chicago Voc.	99.9	.1	59.3
Dunbar	99.8	.0	78.6
Flower	100.0	.0	97.9
Simeon	100.0	.0	57.0
Westinghouse	100.0	.0	83.5
Corliss	100.0	.0	34.3
Manley	100.0	.0	100.0
Julian	100.0	.0	56.1
Collins	100.0	.0	90.7
Robeson	100.0	.0	100.0
Indian Ctr		.0	65.9
Crane	99.9	.1	100.0
DuSable	100.0	.0	100.0
Englewood	100.0	.0	80.9
McLaren	99.6	.4	66.7
Austin	100.0	.0	100.0
Average	97.3	2.7	77.8
Student body represented by this table	68.4	8.1	56.5

Note: 41.4% of Chicago Public High Schools represented.

enrollment. These schools are listed in Table 56.

Schools with the ten smallest minority enrollments are, on average, composed of two-thirds white students and one-third minority students. These schools contain slightly more than half

TABLE 56

CHICAGO'S PREDOMINANTLY HISPANIC SCHOOLS (50% OR MORE HISPANICS IN STUDENT BODY)

School	% Hispanic	% Low-Income
Juarez	93.6	40.7
Clemente	81.8	86.9
Kelvyn	74.3	53.8
Wells	71.2	79.2
Harrison	67.5	49.6
Lake View	53.8	55.2
Bowen	50.0	50.7
Average		59.4
Student body represented by this table	50.3	12.0

Note: 10% of Chicago Public High Schools represented.

(52.4%) of Chicago's white student body. They are listed in Table 57.

TABLE 57

SCHOOLS WITH FEW LOW-INCOME AND MINORITY STUDENTS IN CHICAGO

School	% Minority	% Low-Income
Washburne	26.9	.0
Mather	20.4	4.8
Washington	35.7	18.3
Lane Tech	27.3	19.8
Steinmetz	35.5	20.5
Taft	23.0	20.8
Bogan	34.2	22.7
Hubbard	36.0	23.8
Roosevelt	81.2	28.3
Kenwood	76.1	29.3
Average	39.6	20.7
Student body represented by this table	*	5.8

Note: (*) 52.4% of the white student body are represented in this table. 14.3% of the Chicago Public High Schools are represented.

Distribution of Students by Income

If low-income students were equally distributed throughout Chicago's high schools, each school would contain 58.2% low-income students. The actual distribution of students by income is very different. Thirteen of Chicago's 70 high schools, or 18.6%, reflect the city-wide low-income perentage. Twenty-six schools have a low-income enrollment of less than 50%, and 31 schools have a low-income enrollment or greater than 60%. Twenty percent of the schools have low-income enrollments greater than 90%; of these, 13 are completely composed of minority students. The schools in this last category are listed in Table 58.

TABLE 58

CHICAGO'S COMPLETELY LOW-INCOME SCHOOLS (99%-100% LOW-INCOME ENROLLMENT)

School	% Minority	% Black	% Hispanic
Austin	100.0	100.0	.0
Crane	100.0	99.9	.1
DuSable	100.0	100.0	.0
Farragut	98.5	76.6	21.8
Hirsch	99.8	99.7	.1
King	100.0	100.0	.0
Tilden	91.8	76.9	14.9
Manley	100.0	100.0	.0
Robeson	100.0	100.0	.0
Phillips	100.0	100.0	.0
Average	99.0	95.3	3.7
Student body represented by this table	18.2	22.0	2.9

Note: 24.1% of the low-income student body represented in this table, as well as 14.3% of the Chicago Public High Schools

The Relationship Between Race and Income

A graph of the percent low-income students versus the percent of minority students in each Chicago high school indicates that the presence of low-income students is related to the presence of minority students. Figure 2 indicates that a strong relationship exists between race and income. Schools that have large minority enrollments also tend to have large low-income enrollments. These low-income, minority schools are listed in Tables 55 and 58. As Table 55 shows, the 29 schools that have a completely minority enrollment have an average low-income enrollment of 77.8%, substantially above the city average of 58.2%. Sixty-eight percent of Chicago's black high school students and 57% of Chicago's low-income students attend these all-minority schools. Eight of these 29 completely minority schools have completely low-income enrollments as well.

Table 58 shows that 8 of the 10 completely low-income schools in the city are also completely minority schools; the other two schools are more than 90% minority. Of these 10 schools the same eight are completely black schools; the other two have large Hispanic enrollments. These 10 completely low-income schools contain 18% of the city's minority student population, 22% of the black student population, 3% of the Hispanic student population, and 24% of the low-income student population.

At the same time, schools with the fewest low-income students also have small minority enrollments. The 10 schools with the smallest enrollments of low-income students are shown in Table 57. These schools average 60.4% white enrollment in a city with 22.1% white high school enrollment and represent over half (52.4%) of the city's white enrollment. These white schools average 20.7% low-income makeup and serve 5.8% of the city's low-income student body.

Limitation on the Data

The data used in this section were supplied by the Illinois Board of Education. There were several inaccuracies in this data set. The first was that racial data for Senn High School were provided for only 85% of the students. The second was that the low-income enrollments given for two of the city's high schools are obviously unreliable. Carver High School and Corliss High School were listed as containing no low-income students though they are located in low-income neighborhoods. Another source, the 1981-1982 *Test Scores and Selected School Characteristics* published by the Chicago Board of Education, reports that these schools had low-income students and is used in lieu of the Illinois Board of Education data for these two schools.

Summary

Minorities and low-income students are concentrated in particular Chicago high schools, and white students and higher income students are concentrated in others. The result is severe segregation by race and income within the city.

Suburban Chicago Public High Schools

Eighty-five suburban school districts,[3] including 149 high schools, were analyzed in this study of high schools from the six-county metropolitan Chicago area. Eighty-five percent of the

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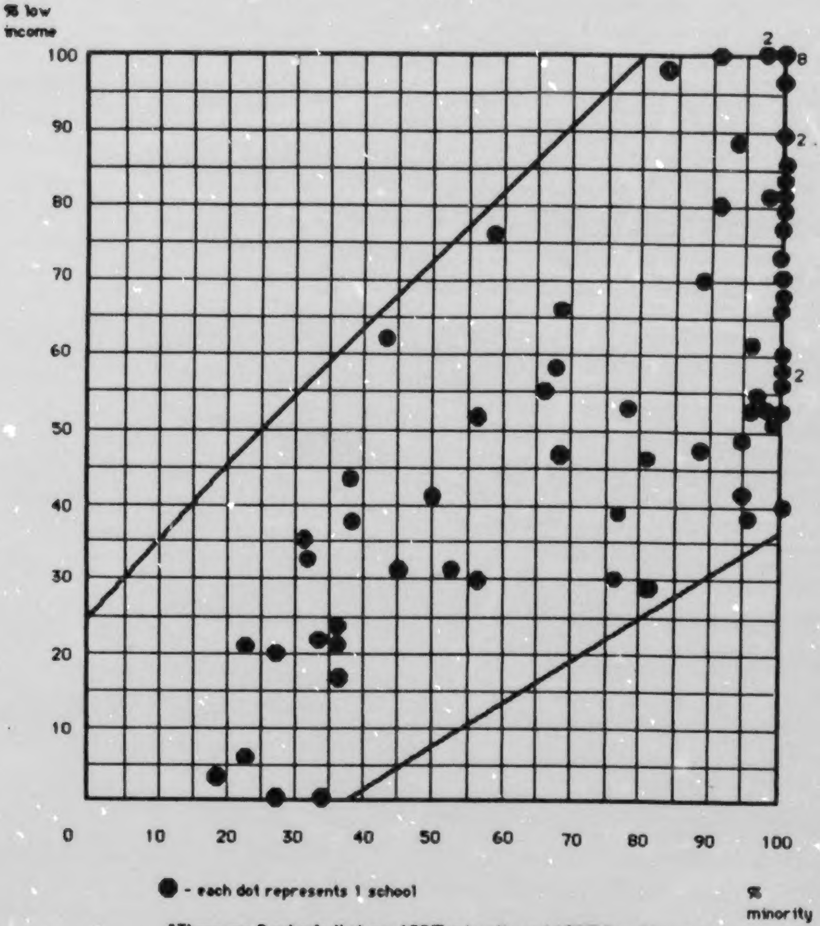
[3] For the purposes of this chapter a "high school district" is defined as a school district that includes one or more high schools.

Figure 2 : Relationship Between Percent Minority Enrollment and Percent Low-income Enrollment in Chicago High Schools



*There are 8 schools that are 100% minority and 100% low-income.

Source: Illinois Board of Education, 1982-83
Public School Fall Enrollment and Housing Report

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students in the suburbs' high school districts are white,[4] 8% are black, and 5% are Hispanic; 9.2% come from low-income families (see Table 59 and Figure 3). Thus, if minority and low-income students were equally distributed among the 85 districts, each district would have about 13% minority and 9% low-income students.

TABLE 59

ENROLLMENT PERCENTAGES OF SUBURBAN CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOLS BY COUNTY, AND RACE

County	% White	% Black	%Hispanic	% Other
Suburban Cook	84.2	10.6	2.9	2.3
DuPage	93.0	1.7	1.9	3.4
Kane	78.9	7.4	11.2	2.5
Lake	80.6	9.4	8.3	1.7
McHenry	97.1	.1	2.2	.6
Will	83.2	7.5	3.6	5.7
All Counties	84.7	7.5	5.2	2.6

The Distribution of Students by Race

The actual distribution of minority students in suburban Chicago high school districts is shown in Figure 4. The 85 high school districts in suburban Chicago have minority compositions ranging from 0% to 58.6%. Nine of them have 10% to 20% minority enrollment. Sixty-six districts have a minority enrollment of less than 10%; more than half of these schools have fewer than 3% minority students. All together, 19 of suburban Chicago's high school districts have a 10% or greater minority enrollment, and 10 of these have a 20% or greater minority enrollment.

Suburban minority students are concentrated in a limited number of districts. More than 60% of the suburbs' minority students attend the 10 districts that have a 20% or greater minority enrollment. Fifteen percent of all minority students in the suburbs attend the three schools that have a minority enrollment greater than 50%. The minority student population in the suburbs is concentrated in a relatively small number of schools.

If we shift the analysis from the district level to the county level, we can see that minority enrollment varies significantly from county to county. While sparsely populated McHenry County contains only 2.9% minority students in its high school districts, the other counties range from 7.0% to 21.1% minority enrollment (see Table 59). There are 8% black high school students in the suburbs as a

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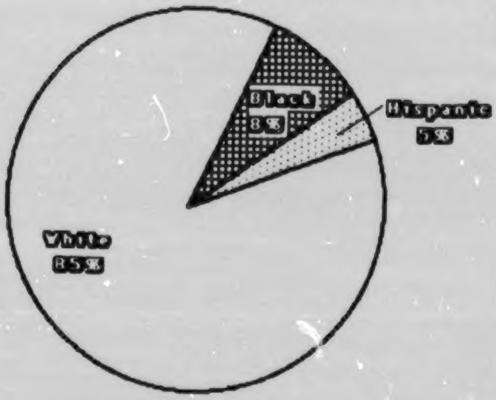
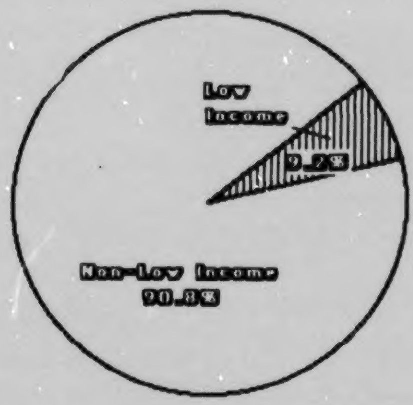
[4] In the suburban high school analysis the category of white students does not include the small number of Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders or Alaskans/American Indians. They are listed as "other" in Table 59.

Figure 3 Racial and Economic Composition of High School Districts in Suburban Chicago

(a) Racial



(b) Economic



Source: Illinois Board of Education, 1982-1983
Public School Fall Enrollment and Housing Report

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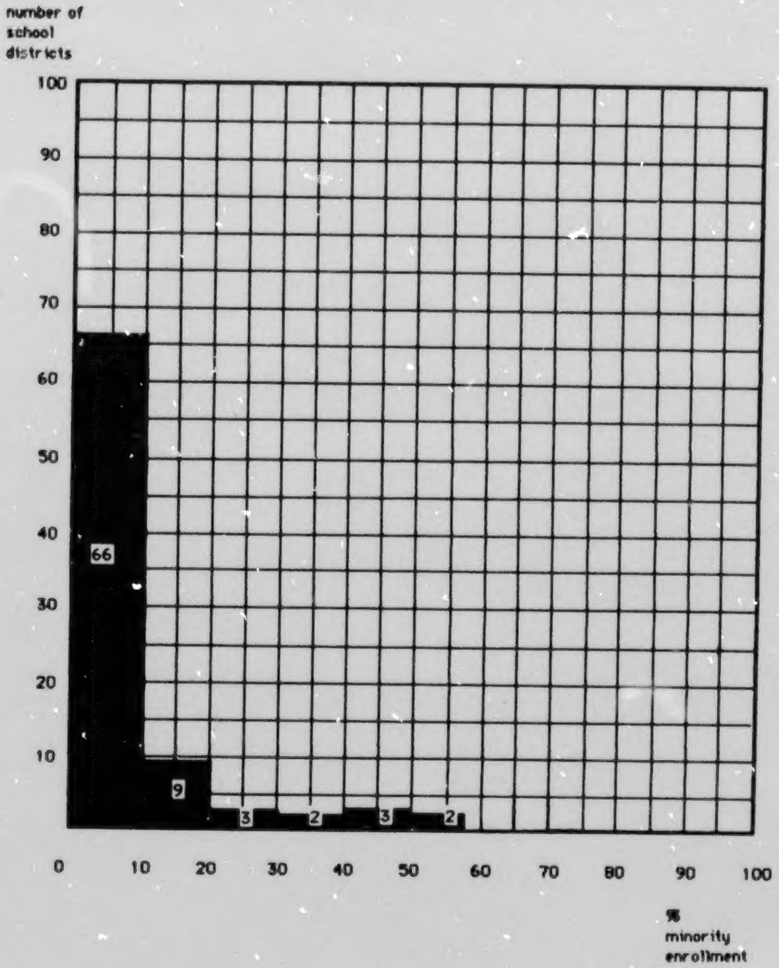
Figure 4 : Distribution of Suburban Chicago High School Districts by Percent Minority Enrollment



Source: Illinois Board of Education, 1982-83 Public School Fall Enrollment and Housing Report

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whole. The actual distribution of black students is shown in Figure 5. Sixty-four percent of the suburbs' black students attend the 9 schools with a 20% or more black enrollment. The small number of suburban schools with substantial black enrollments account for most of the black high school students in the suburbs.

This pattern is less clear for Hispanic suburban students. Hispanic high school students are less segregated. Thirty-four percent of Hispanic students in the suburbs attend the two schools with Hispanic enrollments greater than 20%. Other Hispanics are widely dispersed.

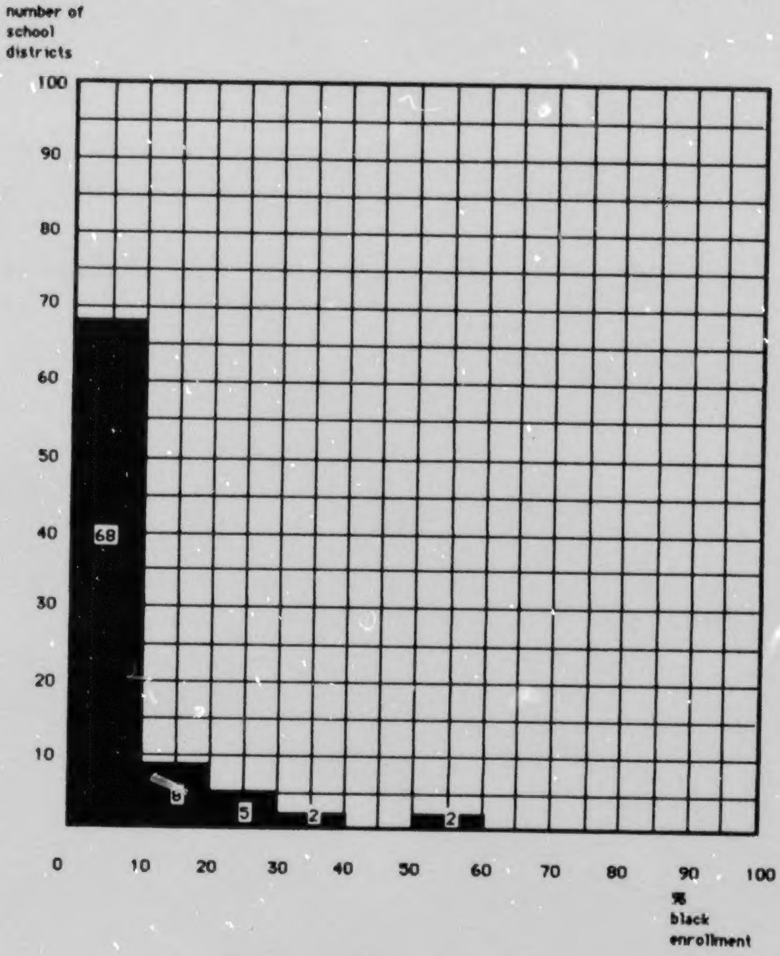
What are the districts of relatively high minority concentration like? Tables 60 and 61 list the suburban high school districts with a 20% or greater black enrollment or a 20% or greater Hispanic enrollment, respectively. The 10 schools with a 20% or more black enrollment are attended by nearly 64% of the suburbs' black students, while 34% of the suburbs' Hispanic students attend the two schools that are 20% or more Hispanic. In geographic terms, these black schools are concentrated in south suburbs of Cook County and in Waukegan, Joliet, and North Chicago while Hispanics are concentrated in Waukegan and Aurora. These are all aging industrial areas. Thus, suburban minorities, and especially blacks, tend to be concentrated in districts that have substantial minority enrollments, and these districts are generally located in aging industrial areas.

The Distribution of Students by Income

If low-income students were equally distributed among suburban high school districts, each would have 9.2% low-income students. The actual distribution of high school districts according to percent low-income enrollment is show in Figure 6. About half of these districts have low-income enrollments of less than 5%. The 22 districts with more than a tenth poor students have low-income enrollments ranging from 10.1% to 35.6%. Only 6 districts in the suburban area have low-income enrollments of 20% or more.

The average low-income enrollment varies considerably between the various suburban counties. McHenry and DuPage counties have a near absence of low-income students, with 3.5% and 6.4% low-income enrollments respectively. Will County falls in about the middle, with 11.5% low-income students. Lake, suburban Cook, and Kane counties have the largest low-income enrollments, with 22.2%, 27.9%, and 28.4% respectively.

Figure 5: Distribution of High School Districts According to Percent Black Enrollment



Source: Illinois Board of Education, 1982-83
Public School Fall Enrollment and Housing Report

TABLE 60

SUBURBAN HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH 20% OR GREATER BLACK ENROLLMENT 1982-83

High School District	% Minority Enrollment
Community (Cook County)	20.4
Rich Township (Cook County)	23.0
Crete Monee (Will County)	24.4
Waukegan (Lake County)	27.3
Joliet (Will County)	27.3
Bloom (Cook County)	31.9
Evanston Township (Cook County)	34.4
Thornton Township (Cook County)	41.2
Proviso (Cook County)	50.4
North Chicago (Lake County)	58.6

TABLE 61

SUBURBAN HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH 20% OR GREATER HISPANIC ENROLLMENT

High School District	% Minority Enrollment
Waukegan (Lake County)	21.7
Aurora East (Kane County)	37.5

Only 6 districts in the suburban area have low-income enrollments of 20% or more.

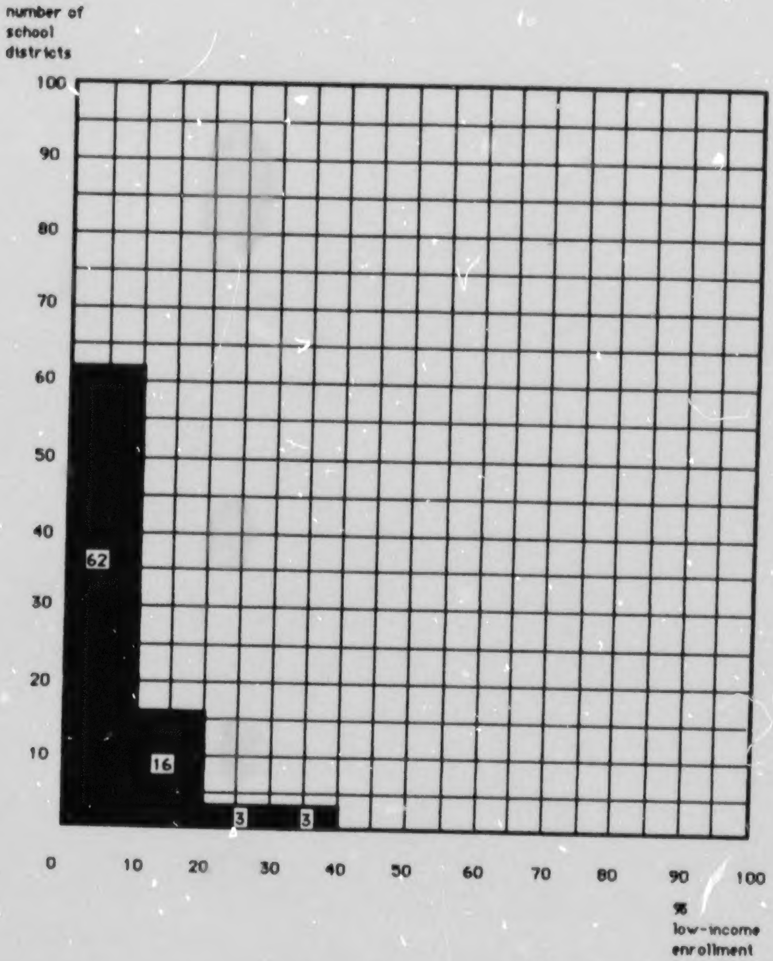
The Relationship Between Race and Income

Large minority enrollment and large low-income enrollment in the suburbs are related. All 10 districts that have minority enrollments larger than 20% have low-income enrollment above the suburban average of 9.2%, sometimes 3 to 4 times the suburban average. Five of the six districts had the five largest minority enrollments in the whole suburban area. The six together averaged 43.0% minority, more than three time the suburban average. Thus, while there are a number of districts that have many minority students without many low-income students there is only one district with many low-income students that does not have many minority students.

Summary

Suburban Chicago high school districts by and large have small numbers of minority students and low-income students. The few minorities and low income students that are in the suburbs, however, tend to be concentrated in a small number of districts, and many of these districts are located in aging industrial areas. Most of the

Figure 6: Actual Distribution of High School District According to Percent low-income Enrollment



Source: Illinois Board of Education, 1982-83 Public School Fall Enrollment and Housing Report

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minority students in the suburbs attend schools with substantial minority enrollments, and most of these schools have the largest percentages of low-income students in the suburban area. Though they have few of the metropolitan area's minority students high school districts in the suburban Chicago area exhibit a significant degree of racial and economic segregation.

Comparison of City and Suburbs by Race and Income

The racial makeup of Chicago's high schools is nearly the opposite of that of the suburbs' high schools. While the city has a 77.8% minority enrollment, the suburbs have an 85% white enrollment; while 55.7% of the city's high schools have 90% to 100% minority enrollments, 77% of the suburbs' high school districts have 0% to 10% minority enrollments. In each of the two areas many schools are found at the extremes of minority enrollments: 40% of the city's schools have 99%-100% minority students, while 41% of the suburbs' high school districts have less than 3% minority students.

This city/suburban racial contrast is further highlighted in Figure 7. The city high schools contain 92% of the Chicago metropolitan area's minority students but only 25% of the metropolitan area total student body. Similarly, the suburbs contain 92% of the metropolitan area's white students.

The city/suburban contrast is also evident in the distribution of low-income students. Twenty percent of the city's schools have more than 90% low income students, and 13% are completely low-income; 73% of the suburbs' high school districts have less than 10% low income enrollments, and half less than 5%. Although the city contains only a quarter of the metropolitan area student population, it contains 69% of the area's low-income students. The suburbs with three-fourths of the area's students, educate fewer than a third of its low-income students.

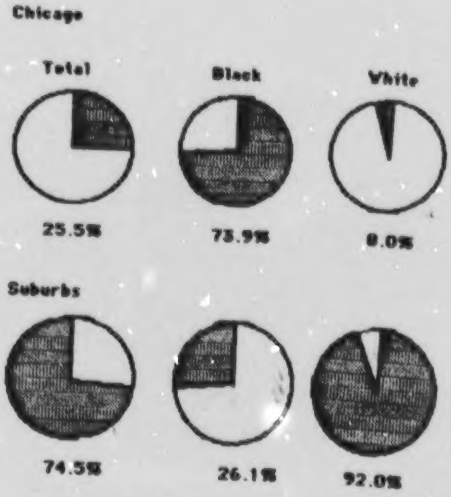
How are minority and low-income students distributed with respect to the entire metropolitan area? If all Chicago area high school students were pooled together and then equally distributed by race and income among the schools and districts, each school would have 71% white students, 29% minority students (21% black and 8% Hispanic) and 22% low-income students.

Within the city of Chicago there are 5 high schools that fall within 10% of the metropolitan area equal distribution standard for race, and 6 for income. There are two schools which fall within the equal distribution category for both race and income, Lane Tech and Bogan. These are elite schools in the Chicago system. In the

Figure 7

The Chicago Metropolitan Area Race Breakdown

Student Body Represented



Source; Illinois Board of Education
1982-1983 Public School Fall Enrollment
and Housing Report

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suburbs, 3 districts fall within equal distribution category for race, 5 within the category for income, and none within both categories.

In the final analysis, while the city and suburbs are reverse images of each other in terms of the racial and economic composition of their high schools, only two of the 155 metropolitan area high schools and high school districts reflect the racial and economic composition of the metropolitan area as a whole. To a large extent the high schools of the city and the suburbs do serve separate and unequal societies.

CHAPTER 8

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES AMONG HIGH SCHOOLS IN METROPOLITAN CHICAGO

If Chicago area high schools were highly stratified by race and income and that stratification were not related to differences in education, it would not be a matter of great concern for a study of access to higher education. In fact, however, there is a powerful relationship. Minority and low-income students tend to be in schools and school districts with less adequate curricula, less well prepared teachers and counselors, larger class sizes, much lower reading scores, less access to college entrance examinations, and much higher dropout rates. These inequalities are important factors in explaining the very different college experiences of the students.

Curriculum

A student's educational experience is powerfully influenced by the courses that are available for him to take and the quality of the teacher of each course. At a time when state governments and colleges are raising the course requirements for both high school graduation and college admission, the nature of the curriculum offerings becomes all the more crucial.

Recent studies on education have made much of tougher curriculum requirements as a way of raising educational quality. In particular, the "New Basics" outlined by the National Commission on Excellence in Education are seen as a standard by which to judge the curricular requirements of schools. The New Basics program recommends, for all high school students, the following curriculum requirements:

4 years of English
3 years of mathematics
3 years of science
3 years of social studies
1/2 year of computer science

Two years of foreign language instruction are recommended in addition to the above courses.

Educational quality, as measured by test scores, seems to improve substantially when students master the subjects taught in the New Basics curriculum. An analysis of the New Basics curriculum by Johns Hopkins University notes:

TABLE 62

CHICAGO PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS WITH COMPLETELY LOW-INCOME STUDENT BODIES, 1982-83

School	% Black	% Latino	Reading Score Percentile*	Attrition Rate
Austin	100	0	14.5	79%
Crane	100	0	17.0	69%
DuSable	100	0	14.0	65%
Farragut	77	22	15.0	50%
Hirsch	100	0	21.0	52%
King	100	0	18.0	58%
Tilden	77	15	15.0	36%
Manley	100	0	15.0	49%
Robeson	100	0	29.0	34%
Phillips	100	0	18.0	59%

Note: All data is for the 1982-83 school year, execpt reading scores which are from the 1983-84 academic year. All schools listed here have 99-100% low-income enrollment. 22% of all black students in Chicago attend these schools.

Source: Illinois State Board of Education and Chicago Public Schools.

> In furthering generic skills in the verbal and quantitative domains, the proposed New Basics passes every test, usually with flying colors. The test scores of students who complete the New Basics are considerably higher, on the average, than of those who do not. These advantages hold up, moreover, even after adjusting for differences in achievement levels when entering high school, for grade performance while in high school, and for several factors that should tap differences in students' academic motivation and interest in school.
>
> Some of these differences are quite large, far exceeding, for example, the drop in SAT scores over the past two decades, which itself has been cause for much consternation (p. 27).

These results depend upon the mastery of the New Basics courses as a curricular package; when one or more courses are dropped, the test scores decrease significantly (Alexander and Pallas, p. 28).

How do the curriculum requirements of Illinois compare to this standard? The state's requirements have been as follows:

3 years of language arts
2 years of mathematics
1 year of science
1 year of social studies
1 year of music, art, or foreign language

That is, Illinois has required one year less of English/language arts and math, and two years less of science and social science, and half year less of computer science than the general education curriculum of the New Basics recommendations.

Curriculum requirements for high schools in suburban Chicago are not collected by any agency and this study could not analyze them. However, the Chicago Board of Education did supply district curriculum requirements and individual high school course offerings. At a time when both state authorities and the Chicago school board are moving both to increase graduation requirements and raise standards for admissions to the leading public universities, course offereings are very important issues.

Chicago Public Schools Curriculum Analysis

Public secondary education has been at the center of attention for many curricular innovations over the past two decades. Cooperative and technological high schools, schools for the performing arts and sports activities, and magnet centers are among a few of the institutional forms that have come to characterize modern secondary education. And yet, despite the many new approaches, there is still an overwhelming desire for many young adults, particularly minorities, to increase their chances at professional and social mobility by continuing on to college. Therefore, not withstanding the vocational training afforded by public secondary institutions, their equally important responsibility for pre-collegiate education cannot be overlooked. It is a fundamental question in our study of access to higher education.

Chicago public high schools are essential for the college-preparatory training of city students, but many schools lack courses needed to provide this service. Mathematics, science, and foreign language are three of the essentially pre-collegiate areas of study under investigation in this report. The major conclusion is that advanced pre-college courses are widely available at some schools but not at others. What emerges therefore is a dual system of public education within the city public schools where one group of schools is functioning primarily as a non-college training institution, often far below national standards, and the second group mostly at the high school and pre-collegiate level.

Since high schools act as feeder institutions to colleges and universities their impact on higher education is great. Secondary institutions lacking crucial courses can only produce inadequately trained students. Given that a number of the city's high schools are breeding grounds for inferior collegiate preparation, there can be no question as to the negative impact on the collegiate system. If the goal of public education in Chicago is to enhance mobility, then the diversity of quality and function in high schools is inimical to this end. Presently, the schools work to perpetuate a cycle of educational and social stratification, and of failure.

The public high schools' curricula for mathematics through calculus, science through physics, and foreign language including Spanish, French, German, and Italian, were used for the analysis in this section. The selection of these areas is not arbitrary. In many cases high school students are expected to have studied them for two years, minimum, prior to attending college.

Mathematics

The public high schools' mathematics curriculum consists of courses in remedial math, general math, algebra, geometry, advanced algebra and trigonometry, honors algebra, honors geometry, and advanced placement calculus. Almost all of the schools offer some classes in remedial math, general math, algebra, geometry, and advanced algebra and trigonometry with two exceptions: Jones Metropolitan High School has no reported mathematics courses and Simeon Vocational High School does not offer geometry.

Only eighteen of the 64 schools offer calculus. They are Bogan, Bowan, Hyde Park Academy, Kennedy, Lane, Lindblom, Mather, Morgan, Senn, Sullivan, Taft, Von Steuben, Kenwood Academy, Curie, North Career Magnet, Young, Julian, and Lincoln Park. On the other hand, honors courses are available at most schools except Cregier Vocational high school, Flower, Prosser, Richards, Spalding, Simpson, Tilden, Wells, Orr, and Jones Metropolitan High School. These schools which have neither honors or advanced placement courses, at best, can provide students with lower-level and below high school level courses.

MATH

Calculus
- Bogan
- Bowen
- Hyde Park
- Kennedy
- Lane
- Lindblom
- Mather
- Morgan
- Senn
- Sullivan
- Taft
- Von Steuben
- Kenwood
- Young
- Carver Area
- Julian
- Curie
- Lincoln Park

No AP or Honors
- Cregier
- Flower
- Prosser
- Richards
- Spalding
- Simpson
- Tilden
- Wells
- Orr

No Geometry
- Jones
- Simeon

Science

The Chicago Public Schools' Senior Survey shows that a large fraction of graduating students have not experienced regular laboratory instruction during their senior year. Fifty-six percent said that they had seldom or never been in a lab and less than one-fifth reported frequent lab instruction (Chicago Bd. of Education, June 17, 1983).

The public high schools' curriculum in science offers remedial science courses, general science, biology, chemistry, physics, honors biology, honors chemistry, honors physics, and advanced placement biology, chemistry, and physics. These courses are widely available in only a minority of schools. As for those lacking basic courses, they are: Spalding and Westinghouse - no chemistry -, Austin, Foreman, Spalding, Cregier, North Career Magnet, Richards, Simeon, and Westinghouse - no physics courses. Neither honors or advanced placement courses are available at Cregier, Dunbar, Flower, North Career Magnet, Westinghouse, Richards, Austin, Calumet, DuSable, Harper, Hirsch, Lakeview, Wells, Tilden, Spalding, Englewood, Orr, and Simpson.

Forty-four of the schools offer honors science courses. Although this is an indication that over two thirds of the high schools are making available some upper-level science courses, the offerings vary widely. There are many students in many schools for whom this curriculum is not available. For these students, there is far less chance for success in college because their high school curriculum is simply inadequate.

SCIENCE

AP and Honors
Amundsen
Bogan
Farragut
Robeson
Foreman
Hyde Pk
Kelly
Lane Tech
Lindbolm
Mather
Morgan
Senn
South Shore
Steinmetz
Sullivan
Taft
Von Steuben
Lincoln Park
Kenwood
Young
Julian
Curie

Honors Only
Chic-Voc
Bowen
Crane
Fenger
Gage
Harlan
Kelvyn Pk
Kennedy
Manley
Marshall
Roosevelt
Schurz
Hubbard
King
Clemente
Carver Area
Corliss
Jaurez
Washington

No AP or Honors
Cregier
Dunbar
Flower
N. Career Mag.
Westinghouse
Richards

No Physics
Austin
Foreman
Spalding
Cregier
Flower
N. Career Mag.
Richards
Simeon
Westinghouse

No Chemistry
Westinghouse
Spalding

Advanced Placement; Mathematics and Science

Advanced Placement courses are offered in a minority of schools for a very small number of students. Altogether, 27 advanced placement mathematics classes in three areas are available at 26 schools, and 37 advanced placement science courses, in four areas are at 22 schools. Advanced placement mathematics courses include calculus (18 schools), computer science (8 schools), and statistics (one school). The science curriculum includes advanced placement biology (17 schools), chemistry (13 schools), biochemistry (one school), and physics (6 schools). In total, 531 and 578 students, respectively, are involved in advanced placement mathematics and science courses in the entire city public school system. These numbers represent a tiny fraction of the public high schools' student body. Obviously, the benefits of a college preparatory program are concentrated in a few tracks at a few institutions, and serve a very small number of students. This being the case, the majority of Chicago public high school students are not involved, to any degree, in advanced college-level curricula.

Foreign Language

Language programs are the third major area of investigation in the study on Chicago public high schools' curricula. Spanish, French, German, and Italian are the four languages used in the study.

The overall analysis shows that language programs are very weak in public secondary schools. Only 3 of the 64 schools offer programs of study in all four languages. These schools are Kenwood, Lincoln Park, and Schurz. Six schools - Cregier, Flower, Jones, Prosser, Richards, and Simpson, do not offer any of the languages. Of the remaining schools, six have programs in three languages - Lane, Mather, Morgan, Steinmtz, Wells, (Spanish, French, and German) and Curie (Spanish, French, and Italian); 33 schools have programs in two languages (Spanish and French); and 16 schools have programs in one language only. In total, less than 1% of the city's public high schools offer courses of instruction in all four languages, and for about 85% of the schools, the language selection is limited to 0-2 of the four languages.

Three years maximum of either Spanish, French, German, or Italian are available in 35 of the schools, but in only nine of these is this the case for more than one language. The remaining 14 schools offer three years of instruction in only one language.

Twenty-one high schools offer four or more years maximum study in the foreign languages. Amundsen, Sullivan, Young, and Robeson do so in Spanish and French; Corliss, Hubbard, and Senn offer four years of study in French; and Englewood, Roosevelt, Lakeview, and Bogan have four years of Spanish. Kenwood high school offers students five years of study in each of the four languages, and Von Steuben also provides a fifth year of instruction in French.

A rather substantial number of schools provide for students just the minimum of two years of foreign language study. Whereas 55 schools have at least two years of study in one or more languages, many of these do not exceed the minimum. According to the findings, 10 schools provide, at the most, two years of instruction in Spanish (Dunbar, North Career, Spalding, Kelly), French (Chicago Voc.) or both (Crain, Lindblom, Manly, Marshall, and Julian). Another 3 schools offer just one year of study, in one language only: Austin, Simeon, and Westinghouse.

Advanced placement courses are more abundant in the languages than in the other areas of the curriculum analyzed. In all, some 30 schools have advanced placement courses. Despite this seemingly impressive showing of advanced placement language courses, the overall analysis indicates a poor representation of language curricula in public high schools. Several schools cannot give students the minimum two years of study for college entrance, and a rather substantial number can only do so in a limited number of ways, usually in one or two languages, and for two to three years at the most. In only six of the institutions is both time and choice entirely possible for students engaging in language curricula.

Conclusion

The study on Chicago public high schools' math, science, and foreign language curricula indicates that some schools more than likely cannot prepare students for college. Schools that are clearly inadequate for preparing students are Cregier, Flower, Richards, Spalding, Simpson, Tilden, Wells, and Orr. Schools that rate nearly as low are Dunbar, North Career Academy, Austin, Calumet, DuSable, Harper, Hirsch, Lakeview, and Englewood.

On the other hand, several schools offer strong listings of preparatory courses. They are Bogan, Hyde Park Academy, Lane, Lindblom, Kenwood Academy, Mather, Morgan, Senn, Taft, Von Steuben, Young, Carver Area, Julian, Curie, and Lincoln Park. Others that are nearly as extensive are Anderson, Farragut, Robeson, Foreman, Kelly, South Shore, Steinmetz, Bowen, and Kennedy.

What we have in Chicago, then, is a two-tiered system of public secondary education consisting of the dead-end to middle-of-the-road schools, and the advanced training institutions. The schools on the bottom offer students almost no chance to seriously prepare for competitive higher education. They do not have the advanced level courses that would enable college-bound students to prepare themselves, and in many cases, essential courses of study are missing.

Area high school students need a legitimate college preparatory curriculum. In Chicago public schools, where achievement scores are low, this is most likely to be found in honors and/or advanced placement courses. They are very unevenly available.

According to the 1984 ACT survey of college bound seniors in the Chicago public schools, students tested expressed a need for more advanced preparation for college through honors courses (34%), advanced placement courses (64%), and additional help in math (54%), reading (37%), writing (46%), and foreign language (24%). So, students themselves are concerned about the problems in the curriculum even before they get to college. But at present, only a fraction of the schools are offering a few students the advantages of college preparatory training. Better pre-collegiate curriculum offerings should be a basic part of any effort to create real access to college for students in Chicago's inner city schools.

Inequality of Teaching and Counseling Staffs

Personal attention from teachers and guidance counselors can be crucial to many students in helping them to understand course material and in helping to formulate their post-high school plans. The High School and Beyond survey analyzed in the next chapter shows that this is particularly true for Illinois minority students.

One way to measure the possible extent of differential educational experiences of high school students is through examining teacher-to-student ratios. Using data provided by the Illinois State Board of Education for the 1982-83 academic year, an analysis of the numbers of students and teachers in Chicago and suburban area high schools shows that the City of Chicago has the fewest teachers and guidance counselors per one thousand students when compared to suburban high schools (Kane County is not included in this analysis because the data was not provided by the State Department of Education).

The highest income suburban school districts generally have the highest numbers of teachers per one thousand students. There is, however, much variability among suburban school districts and it is likely that there are many other factors, besides the income level of district residents, that affect the teacher-to-student ratios. While teacher-to-student ratios are a useful way of drawing a comparison between school districts, they are only a crude approximation to one of the most important, yet hardest to measure variables influencing a high school student's experience: teacher performance.

Teacher-to-Student Ratios

In total, and in the major pre-collegiate subject areas, the City of Chicago has the fewest or close to the fewest teachers per thousand students compared with suburban counties. An aggregate comparison of Chicago high schools (not including Cook County Juvenile Detention Center, Montefior Boys School, Washburne Trade Institute, Art Living Institute, Simpson and Tubman Alternative Schools for Pregnant Girls) with the five surrounding suburban counties indicates that Chicago lags significantly behind the suburbs in teachers per thousand students. Overall, the city of Chicago has 46 teachers per thousand students, compared to a suburban low of 48 per thousand for Will County and a suburban high of 53 per thousand students for Lake County.

TABLE 63

CITY AND COUNTY TEACHERS PER THOUSAND STUDENT

	Teachers per thousand				
Location	English	Science	Math	Foreign Lang.	Total
Chicago	8.5	4.2	5.3	1.4	45.9
Suburban Cook	9.4	4.4	5.9	3.3	50.4
DuPage	9.3	4.5	6.1	3.7	51.1
Lake	9.2	5.0	5.9	4.0	52.8
McHenry	8.3	5.5	5.3	3.4	52.4
Will	8.2	4.0	5.2	2.2	48.1

In an analysis of teacher-to-student ratios in the subject areas of English, science, math and foreign language the city school system does not compare much more favorably with suburban districts. In a county-by-county analysis of the suburbs, the number of city English and math high school teachers is comparable to suburban figures. The city of Chicago has fewer English teachers per thousand students than the large counties of suburban Cook and DuPage, - 8.5 per thousand compared to 9.5 and 9.3 respectively. Chicago has slightly more than McHenry and Will counties. Similarly, suburban Cook, DuPage and Lake have more math teachers per thousand students than to the City of Chicago, whereas McHenry County has the same ratio and Will County a slightly lower one.

The subject areas in which the city fares worst are science and foreign language. With 4.2 per thousand, the city ranks second to last in science teachers per thousand students - only Will County has less with 4.0. The City of Chicago, on average has slightly more than one foreign language teacher per thousand students, compared to suburban county ratios of between 2.2 and 4.0 per thousand. Data from the State Board of Education indicate that ten Chicago high schools - nine of them vocational - have no foreign language teachers. Overall, and particularly in the subject areas of science and foreign language, Chicago high school students tend to be at a disadvantage with regard to teacher-to-student ratios.

TABLE 64

TEACHER PER THOUSAND STUDENTS FOR THE 10 HIGHEST INCOME SUBURBAN DISTRICTS

School	English	Science	Math	Foreign Lang.	Total
New Trier	13.2	5.8	9.5	6.9	60.6
Northfield	12.3	5.6	7.8	5.1	60.9
Elmwood Park	7.2	3.6	6.0	4.8	58.7
Hinsdale	9.7	4.3	6.6	5.8	54.9
Elmhurst	8.7	4.5	5.3	3.4	49.2
Lake Zurich	9.9	5.9	6.9	4.9	59.2
Lake Forest	9.7	6.7	7.4	7.4	59.6
Ad. Stevenson	10.4	6.3	9.0	5.6	58.3
Richmd-Burton	11.7	8.7	5.8	2.9	57.1
Beecher	15.1	7.5	3.8	3.8	71.7

An analysis of suburban high schools shows that the schools with fewest low-income students have the highest numbers of teachers and that, perhaps, recent hiring patterns of teachers have not caught up with demographic patterns in some districts. With one exception, the ten highest income districts have at least 55, and in some cases 60 or 70, teachers per thousand students. The single exception is the Elmhurst District in DuPage County which has an overall ratio of 49.2 teachers per thousand students. Beecher CUSD has the highest ratio of these ten with 71.7 per thousand. Beecher also has a very high English teacher-to-student ratio with 15.1 per thousand. In fact, with two exceptions - Elmwood Park and Elmhurst - the English teacher ratio is above nine per thousand students for the ten highest income districts. Similarly, the ratio of teachers to students in the other main subject areas -- science, math, and foreign language - tend to be above the county averages. If teacher-to-student ratios are any indicator, students from high income districts are likely to receive more attention from teachers than their peers in less affluent districts.

TABLE 65

TEACHERS PER THOUSAND STUDENTS FOR THE 10 LOWEST INCOME DISTRICTS

School	English	Science	Math	Foreign Lang.	Total
Thornton	9.6	4.3	5.4	2.4	48.2
Bloom	7.5	3.7	4.4	1.7	42.0
Township 214	8.2	4.1	6.9	3.5	49.1
Community 218	7.7	4.2	4.7	2.3	49.8
Zion	7.1	3.1	4.8	2.8	45.7
Round Lake	6.7	3.4	3.4	2.0	36.4
N. Chicago	9.7	4.4	6.1	2.6	53.7
Harvard	8.8	5.3	1.8	3.5	56.5
Joliet	6.1	2.7	4.6	1.5	40.0
Wilmington	9.1	3.6	5.4	1.8	49.0

Other than for the highest income suburban districts, there seem to be no firm trends governing teacher-to-student ratios. There are some very large schools with high percentages of low income students that have higher than average teacher-to-student ratios. For example, Evanston Township has a student body of 3552 and 37.3 percent of its student body is defined by the State Board of Education as low-income. Evanston Township's teacher-to- student ratios are above the suburban Cook average overall and for the subject areas of English, science, math and foreign language. On the other hand, Thornton, Bloom and Proviso Townships are some of the poorest districts in suburban Chicago with large - i.e., 4,500 to 7,600 students - student bodies and all have teacher-to- student ratios below the Cook County average. For Example, Bloom Township's overall teacher-to-student ratio is 42 per 1,000. While a preponderance of low-income students is associated with lower teacher-to-student ratios, there is a good deal of variability.

Guidance Counselors: Distribution

The number of guidance counselors varies considerably both within and among city and suburban public high schools. In the city, one can find anywhere between one and twelve counselors at a high school; for suburban districts the range is as from one to 28 counselors (the analysis excludes any schools showing a total of zero guidance counselors and suburban consolidated school districts for which estimates on individual schools are not available).

Chicago city high schools have on the average about five (5) guidance counselors. Chicago Metropolitan High School, Cregier, Flower, Jones Metropolitan, Richards Vocational High Schools are on

TABLE 66

TEACHERS PER THOUSAND STUDENTS FOR COOK AND DUPAGE COUNTIES

School	English	Science	Math	Foreign Lang.	Total
Cook County					
Oak Park	11.1	6.6	4.2	3.0	56.2
JS Morton	11.0	4.2	4.0	3.0	49.0
Evanston Twp	10.4	4.5	7.3	4.5	54.6
New Trier Twp	13.2	5.8	9.5	6.9	60.6
Lyons Twp	11.3	4.0	6.2	5.4	50.7
Thornton Twp	9.6	4.3	5.4	2.4	48.2
Bloom Twp	7.5	3.7	4.4	1.7	42.0
Maine Twp	9.5	3.6	5.1	2.8	46.1
Riverside Twp	9.7	5.6	7.3	4.8	60.4
Proviso Twp	10.1	3.8	5.2	2.0	47.8
Lemont Twp	9.9	5.0	6.6	3.3	56.2
Township 211	10.0	4.3	6.2	3.9	50.7
Leyden	8.8	3.1	4.4	3.1	44.8
Township 214	8.2	4.1	6.9	3.5	49.1
Thornton Twp	11.6	4.1	7.5	2.9	65.6
Argo	6.3	4.0	4.6	1.1	45.8
Community 218	7.7	4.2	4.7	2.3	49.8
Niles Twp	10.1	6.5	6.3	4.6	57.2
Reavis Twp	8.5	2.5	5.5	2.0	52.3
Northfield Twp	12.3	5.6	7.8	5.1	60.9
Rich Twp	7.9	4.9	6.0	3.0	50.7
Bremen	6.8	3.6	4.6	2.2	40.4
Oak Lawn	7.7	3.8	4.8	1.4	47.5
Consolidatd 230	8.7	4.0	5.1	2.8	49.4
Evergreen Park	8.7	6.2	6.2	5.0	56.0
Homewd-Flssmr	9.7	5.4	5.7	3.6	48.9
Ridgewood	6.2	7.5	6.2	2.5	56.1
Elmwood Park	7.2	3.6	6.0	4.8	58.7
DuPage County					
Hinsdale Twp	9.7	4.3	6.6	5.8	54.9
Glenbard Twp	10.1	4.7	6.1	3.5	52.7
DuPage 880	8.9	3.5	5.7	2.0	47.2
Community 94	7.4	5.4	6.1	2.7	50.6
Community 99	10.0	4.0	5.8	3.6	48.6
Fenton	9.9	5.0	6.4	2.8	55.3
Lake Park	9.4	4.3	5.5	3.5	46.5
Wheaton	8.8	4.7	6.3	4.4	50.1
Westmont	8.8	8.8	5.3	7.0	63.3
Lisle	9.5	6.3	6.3	3.2	55.5
Naperville	8.5	4.4	6.6	4.1	51.4
Indian Prairie	9.1	6.1	7.6	3.0	65.3
Elmhurst	8.7	4.5	5.3	3.4	49.2

the lowest end of the scale with one, or two guidance counselors, respectively. Lane Technical High School has the largest total number of counselors (12), followed by Hyde Park Career Academy (9), and the Chicago Vocational Center (9).

The number of counselors available in suburban schools is double that in city institutions, where the number of counselors ranges anywhere from one to 28. Beecher High School and Petone High School of Will County along with Huntley High School in McHenry County have one counselor each. Several school have as few as two counselors: Lemont Township, Evergreen Park, Ridgewood, and Elmwood Park of Cook County; Johnsburg, Marengo, and Richmond Butler of McHenry County; and Reed Custer High School of Will County all have two counselors. Those institutions which have a larger number of total counselors are Maine Township (28), Thornton Township (26) - both of Cook County; and Glenbard (24) and Naperville (22) of Dupage County. With a larger total range of guidance counselors available, suburban high schools have on the average 8.3 counselors per institution, about two-thirds more than average city schools.

Counselors per 1,000 students

The number of counselors available per thousand students shows that on average, all suburban counties have more guidance counselors per thousand students than Chicago: Cook County and Will county have an average of 3.6 counselors per thousand students, that is 1.2 times as many counselors as Chicago city schools. McHenry County has an average of 3.5 counselors per thousand students, or 1.2 times as many counselors as Chicago city schools. And, DuPage and Lake County school districts have an average pupil-counselor ratio of 4.1:1,000 - 1.4 times that of city schools (see table 67).

We do not know precisely how differences ranging from one to four-fold actually affect the relative effectiveness of guidance counselor services. There is not much empirical evidence to demonstrate the impact. But it is most likely the case that in Chicago city schools, where academic and dropout problems are higher, the need for counselors is greater. As things now stand, Chicago city school students receive the least help, though counselor's help is considerably more important to their ultimate college decisions according to student surveys.

TABLE 67

TOTAL NUMBER OF GUIDANCE COUNSELORS AVAILABLE FOR CITY AND SUBURBAN SCHOOLS

District	Total Counselors	Average Per 1000 Students
Chicago City	325	2.9
Cook County	259	3.6
DuPage	157	4.1
Lake County	113	4.1
McHenry County	32	3.5
Will County	65	3.6

Conclusion

The number of teachers, teachers in college preparatory fields, and counselors are only very partial measures of the inequalities among school districts in preparing students for college and helping them make informed decisions. (Chapter 14 will show that the differences in numbers are accentuated by the differences in the educational background of the teachers.) Even the overall measures presented here, however, are sufficient to show that in terms of the key human resources in the schools - the teachers and the counselors, the affluent districts are the best taken care of and the schools in Chicago rank at or near the bottom. These figures were compiled, of course, before the Chicago district faced the possible need to freeze or cut staff in the fall of 1984 to meet budget shortfalls.

Student Perceptions of Chicago High Schools

Much of the analysis in this report is from the outside, looking at the overall patterns and consequences within entire school districts or sets of schools. It is also very important, of course, to understand how things look to students inside the schools. Fortunately, there is recent survey data to show how students view their own education and what they are doing in terms of planning for education after high school. The information for this section is taken from the Chicago Board of Education "Survey of Senior Plans, 1983". A total of 14,259 students, or about 97% of the entire senior class participated in the survey. Some of the findings are:

- Students view high school education as important
- Students are not satisfied with the quality of their high school education
- Many students are inadequately involved in major areas of the instructional process
- Chicago area high school students seek a college education

and professional status.

The following provides a brief synopsis of students' perceptions of high school and their post high school plans.

Pedagogical Techniques

Almost eight out of 10 students have had lectures frequently or fairly often. Two out of three students write frequently or often, and about one-half of all students participate in class discussions regularly. The pedagogoical techniques that seem least employed by teachers are television instruction, computer assisted instruction, one-on-one, or small group instruction, and field trips. An average of 31% of all students seldom participate in these activities; 47% of students report never having participated in these activities during the academic year.

A number of students report never having been involved in lectures or class discussions, or having writing assignments during the school year: 5.1% of students, or 712 high school seniors say that lectures have not been employed in their classes this (1983) school year. 1,283 students have not participated in student-centered discussions (9.9%). Most alarming is that 1,240, or 8.7% of the seniors have not been involved in *any* writing activities during the school year. Even more dramatic is the number of students reporting nothing in the way of project or laboratory activities - 24.4%, or 3,479 students. In total, 6,714 Chicago high school seniors, almost one-half of those surveyed, have not participated in one or more of the most commonly employed methods of instruction in Chicago public high schools. Involvement in these activities, and most important, for developing critical writing skills, is essential for any high school student who plans to further his or her education. As things now stand, up to 47% of the city's graduating seniors may be lacking any instruction in the above areas. Many more have seldom encountered these methods. These students will have serious problems adjusting to college level curricula.

While a number of high school graduates are undoubtedly inadequately involved in the educational process, their perceptions and ratings of high schools are contradictory. Most students rate the quality of instruction as average or excellent (4 out of 5). Two out of three students feel that the reputation of their school is average or excellent. At the same time, most students (63.7%) feel that more emphasis should be placed on basic academic subjects (math, science, English). Eight out of ten students feel that sufficient help is not provided for students who are having trouble with math or reading.

In general, it appears that students are happy with their institutions, but not necessarily satisfied with the quality of education received at them. They do not perceive that the education in their schools is inferior to that offered in other high schools. Obviously, there are problems in both curriculum and instruction in Chicago public high schools. Students, who consequently feel that their education is important, see and attest to these problems. But these graduating seniors, whose success or failure in higher education has largely been determined by an inadequate preparatory system, do not realize the extent to which their experience is different from that found in typical high schools in metropolitan Chicago. Channeling is sufficiently strong that inner city students do not even know what an average school is like.

Post High School Plans

About three out of five high school seniors have plans to attend school full time after graduation. Two-thirds of this group plan to continue on at a college or university, 7% of which plan to do so by enrolling in the community college baccalaureate program. In total, college-bound students represent almost one-half - 48.6% - of students who intend to continue their education in some fashion. Many more plan to attend a four-year college, however, than eventually succeed in enrolling.

Of those students who have intentions of attending school full-time, however, nearly 20% have yet to apply. Sixty-eight percent of the college applicants have been accepted somewhere, 17% have been rejected. For the entire high school group, 34% have been accepted to, and will probably attend a college or university in the upcoming school year.

Occupational-Technical vs. Academic

The majority of students who plan on attending school full-time would prefer to do so at a college or university, or enroll in academic community college curricula (4 out of 5). Those who choose occupational-technical programs would instead prefer to attend nursing, business, or trade schools (79%). Only 20% of the occupational-technical group choose community college technical programs.

Grant Aid and Scholarship

About 60% of all college applicants said they aplied for Pell Grants or Illinois State Scholarship Commission grants (ISSC). Eighteen percent of these students said they will definitely receive ISSC grants; 28% will receive Pell grants. As a percentage of the total high school group, reported ISSC grant recipients represent 9.2% of the population and Pell grant receipients 14.2%.

Professional Aspirations and Influences on Choice

By far, the largest group of high school students aspire to be professionals (38.7%). Technical and clerical positions are the next most sought after jobs by students, 17% and 15% respectively. Students aspire least to become farmers (.49%), laborers (1.5%), and homemakers (1.8%). Although few students in many Chicago schools are operating at the level required to have a reasonable chance for professional training, they do not know that even in their senior year.

Influence on student goals and aspirations comes largely from the students themselves, 92% of students report this to be so. Other important influences include parents (66%), other relatives (33%), friends, adults, and high school guidance counselors (26%-29%). Apparently, Chicago high school students receive little advice from more experienced and trained professionals when deciding about post graduate plans. This disjunction could be detrimental for students whose goals do not match their educational attainment. There are many students of this type, lacking in academic skills, in Chicago public schools.

The "Survey on Senior Plans" highlights several important facts: One, Chicago high school seniors view their high school education as important. They would like to continue on in a college or university, and ultimately seek to work in professional or highly skilled occupational areas. But there are problems. Education is important, but as expressed by the seniors, it is not adequate. They are not being adequately involved in the educational process, and need more help in essential academic areas than they are now getting. Furthermore, when making decisions about college or other training, the students are not sufficiently aided by professionally trained guidance personnel. There are substantial numbers of students graduating from Chicago public high schools whose goals and aspirations are high, and educational attainment low, and yet who want to go to college. Though they often do not realize it, their high school preparation very severely limits their real options.

Quality of High Schools as Indicated by Reading and Test Scores

Schools are extremely segregated by race and income within and without the city of Chicago and these different kinds of schools show large differences in levels of education. One way we determined minority access to higher education was by looking at the quality of college preparatory education offered by these different schools as indicated by reading test scores.

Limitations to Data

Chicago reading test data was provided by the Chicago Board of Education. These data include results from Spring 1982 and Fall 1983. The Spring 1982 scores of Juniors are included in this report as are the Fall 1983 Freshman results. The following schools did not have reading scores reported, and were thus excluded from this report: Industrial Skill Center, The Indian Center, B de Las Casas, Washburne Trade School, McLaren Occupational, and Wilson Occupational.

Suburban high school data were obtained from individual school districts. Comparison of the different districts is not conclusive for the following reasons. 1) The suburban sample is small and self-selected. Since reading test scores are not collected centrally in Illinois, we had to request scores from each high school district. Only 12%, or 10 out of 85 school districts sent usable data, representing 11% (16 out of 149) of suburban high schools. Thus, the results of the analysis reflect scores of the respondents only. 2) The districts used different reading tests and different methods of reporting these tests. Thus, it is hard to compare the results in a detailed manner since the exams have different norms. Among the methods used to report scores were percentiles, stanines, grade equivalents and numerical percentages of students testing below, at, and above the national average. Only broad generalizations can be made in comparing differing school districts.

Chicago-Suburban Achievement Differences

Since Chicago contains two-thirds of the minority public high school student population in the metropolitan area, any educational differences between the city and the suburbs, also influence minority access to higher education. Table 68 shows the low percent minority and low-income students in the responding suburbs.

The city reading scores differ tremendously from suburban reading test scores in the respondent districts. In 1982, only 2.9% (2 schools out of 70), in Chicago scored above the national average.

TERMS

Percentile: "A percentile indicates the individual's relative position in the standardization sample.... The 50th percentile corresponds to the median.... Percentiles above 50 represent above-average performance; those below 50 signify inferior performance."

Stanine: A transformation of normalized standard scores to single digit numbers as follows:

Stanine	Equivalent Percentiles
1	0 to 4
2	> 4 to 11
3	>11 to 23
4	>23 to 40
5	>40 to 60
6	>60 to 77
7	>77 to 89
8	>89 to 96
9	>96 to 100

Stanines 1 through 3 correspond to below-average scores, stanines 4 through 6 correspond to average scores, and stanines 7 through 9 correspond to above-average scores.

Source: Anne Anastasi, *Psychological Testing*, 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan Company, 1968.

TABLE 68

PERCENT MINORITY ENROLLMENT AND LOW-INCOME ENROLLMENT OF THE RESPONDENTS OF THE SUBURBAN CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICTS PROVIDING DATA

County of School District	% Minority	% Low-Income
Cook	33.7	11.8
DuPage	5.9	6.8
Will	14.8	8.2
DuPage	2.2	1.4
Lake	4.8	4.8
Cook	3.0	1.2
Kane	9.8	6.8
Cook	2.3	4.1
Cook	43.7	19.9
Will	2.7	3.1

Source: School District Offices.

Note: Chicago averages a 77.8% minority enrollment and a 58.2% low-income enrollment.

In 1983, only 7% (5 schools out of 70), scored above the national average in Chicago. In the suburbs, however, 100% all the reporting schools scored at, or above, the national average.

Of the suburban schools reporting by percentiles, 60% had an average percentile rank of 70 or more. Of the schools reporting by stanines, the average school had a student body in which over three-fourths, (77%) of their student body scored average or above on the reading tests. This contrasts starkly with the city schools, which averaged reading test scores in the 31st percentile (See Tables 69 and 70).

TABLE 69

SUBURBAN SCHOOLS REPORTING IN PERCENTILES

School District	Median Percentile
DuPage	74
Will	53
DuPage	73
Cook	61
Will	70

Source: School District Offices

Note: 3 out of 5 or 60% scored in the 70th percentile or higher. Chicago has a median percentile of 31% in 1983.

TABLE 70

SUBURBAN SCHOOLS REPORTING IN STANINES

	Percent Scoring in Stanines	
School District	1-3 (below avg.)	4-9 (avg. or above)
Cook	16	83
DuPage	43	57
Kane	23	77
Cook	10	90

Source: School District Office

Note: These schools averaged student bodies in which 77% scored average on above.

Minority Access Within Chicago

School quality for minority students is not only affected by the fact that the Chicago public schools show dramatically lower achievement levels than the suburban districts but also by the fact that, within the Chicago stystem, they are concentrated in the schools with the lowest scores.

First, the schools with the highest scores in the city overenroll the white and higher income students by a large margin. The lowest scoring schools in the city, in contrast, overenroll the minority and lower income students. An analysis of the top 10 scorers in Chicago, in 1982, reveals that these schools have an average 43.5% of white student bodies. Their minority enrollment was 30.5% less than the city average. Only one school of the 10, Lindblom, has a minority representation above the city average, although 61.4% of the system are composed of minority schools. These top scoring schools also represent only 8.7% of Chicago's low-income student population. Only one school has a low-income representation above the city average.

In contrast, the schools with the lowest reading scores in 1982, were composed almost completely of minority and lower income students. These schools were 98.4% minority and 92.4% low-income. Collectively, they averaged a reading score in the 12.5th percentile. In contrast, the top 10 scorers averaged a reading score in the 51st percentile, 20% above the mean for the city. Thus, white, middle income students are concentrated in the top 10 scoring schools in the city and the lowest 10 scoring schools are very largely serving low-income minority students.

A very wide range exists between the highest and lowest scoring schools. Although suburban residents may see the Chicago schools as uniformly weak there is tremendous internal variation. In 1982, schools ranged from 10th percentile to the 76th percentile. In fact, there was an 11% gap between the highest scoring schools and the rest of the system, clearly separating them from the remainder of the schools (see Table 72).

A graph of reading scores by poverty level clearly indicates that students in white, higher income schools are in educational environments more conducive to higher reading scores. Most of the white schools scored at or above the city average. The integrated schools are generally found in the middle of the graph with scores averaging around the median for the city. Minority, low income schools are heavily clustered in the lower, right hand portion of the graph, producing students with the lowest reading scores in the city.

Thus, the data conclusively shows that vastly differing educational systems exist within the city of Chicago and that these differences are divided along lines of race and income. Low income minorities because they live in the city, have less access to quality education than suburban high school students. Even within the city, education differs along lines of race and income.

TABLE 71

HIGHEST AND LOWEST READING TEST SCORES BY MINORITY AND LOW-INCOME

School	Percentile	% Minority	% Low-Income
Schools Far Below the National Average			
Cregier Voc	10	84.8	98.0
Crane	12	100.0	100.0
Harper	12	100.0	90.4
King	12	100.0	100.0
Marshall	12	100.0	83.3
Orr	12	99.2	80.5
Calumet	13	100.0	79.6
Phillips	14	100.0	99.5
Flower	14	100.0	97.9
DuSable	14	100.0	100.0
Average	12.5	98.4	92.9
Schools Near or Above the National Average			
Matther	48	20.4	4.8
Taft	48	23.0	20.8
Washington	48	35.7	18.3
Young	48	77.2	39.3
Kennedy	48	37.8	43.1
Kenwood	48	76.1	29.3
Hubbard	48	36.0	23.8
Bogan	48	34.2	22.7
Lindblom	52	98.7	52.2
Lane Tech	74	27.3	19.8
Average		46.6	27.4

Source: Chicago Board of Education: *Test Scores and Selected School Characteristics High Schools 1981-1982.*
Illinois Board of Education: *1982-1983 Public School Fall Enrollment and Housing Report.*

Relationship Between Reading Test Scores and Performance on College Entrance Examinations

Good performance on college entrance examinations is critical for admission into a four-year baccalaureate institution since the scores measure education received from a school's college preparatory program. College admissions officers often put less weight on high school rank and gradepoint since these are relative measures (they involve a student's individual performance in relation with his peers within a given school) and, in some cases,

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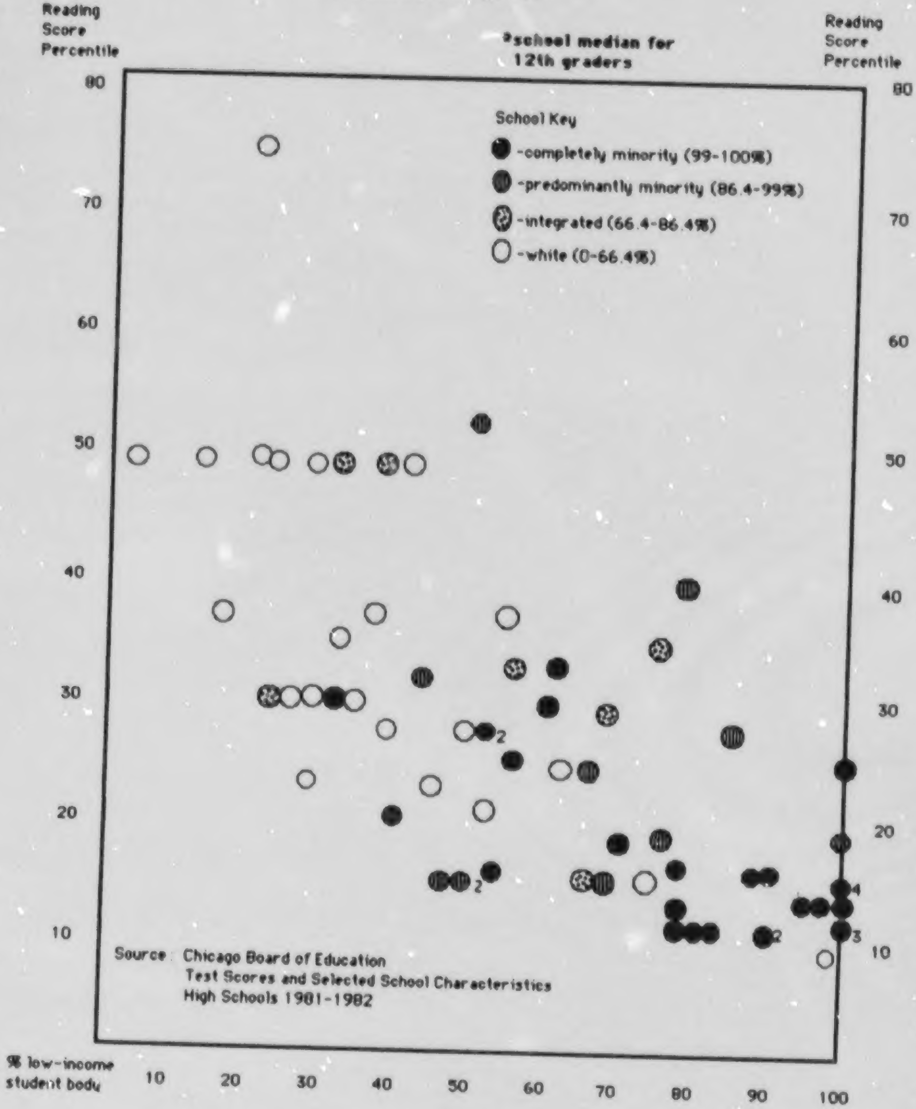
Figure I

Reading Scored* by Poverty Level 1981, For 66 Chicago Public High Schools, Stratified by Race



*school median for 12th graders

Source: Chicago Board of Education
Test Scores and Selected School Characteristics
High Schools 1981-1982

TABLE 72

RANKING OF THE SCHOOLS BY READING SCORES

School	Reading Score 1982	Reading Score 1983
Cregier Voc	10	16
Crane	12	18
Harper	12	19
King	12	21
Marshall	12	19
Orr	12	14
Calumet	13	18
Phillips	14	18
Flower	14	19
DuSable	14	16
Clemente	16	23
Collins	16	18
Englewood	16	19
Farragut	16	18
Fenger	16	23
Gage Park	16	23
Harrison	16	N/A
Hirsch	16	27
Manley	16	19
Near North	16	25
Richards	16	23
South Shore	16	23
Austin	16	16
Bowen	16	19
Tilden	19	16
Wells	19	21
Harlan	19	27
Juarez	21	33
Lake View	21	35
Jones	24	N/A
Foreman	24	33
Robeson	24	23
Senn	24	31
Carver	24	19
Westinghouse	27	33
Schurz	27	31
Simeon	27	35
Kelvyn	27	23
Julian	27	35
Lincoln Park	30	49
Corliss	30	25
Roosevelt	30	33
Sullivan	30	27
Hyde Park	30	40
Kelly	30	25
Amundsen	30	33
Chicago Metro	32	45
Morgan Park	33	46
Dunbar Voc	33	37
Chgo Voc	33	35
Von Steuben	35	61
Prosser	37	46
Curie	37	45
Steinmetz	37	40
Mather	48	49
Taft	48	46
Washington	48	42
Young	48	76
Kennedy	48	33
Kenwood	48	64
Hubbard	48	33
Bogan	48	42
Lindblom	52	64
Lane Tech	74	76

Note: We selected the TAP Spring 1982 and 1983 median reading scores since these were the most recent and probably the most indicative of the present state of the schools. These are ranked from lowest to highest, according to the 1982 scores.

Source: Chicago Board of Education. *Test Scores and Selected School Characteristics High Schools 1981-82 and 1982-83.*

they claim that a C average from certain schools is comparable to an A average from other schools.

In 1982, on a scale of 1 to 36, in the ACT tests, the average Chicago public high school student scored very poorly, with a composite score of 13.6,when the average for the nation was 18.2. This low score severely limits the average student's choice since, almost every four-year college in metropolitan Chicago (97.4%) except Chicago State and Northeastern, had average ACT scores far above 13.6. An average Chicago public high school student can hope, at best, to enter and succeed in the least competitive four-year institutions in Illinois.

The fact that test scores are related to post-high school plans was strongly evidenced by the results of the survey, which was conducted by one suburban Chicago school district. The district's study concluded:

1. Students bound for 4 year colleges averaged in the 70th percentile in the reading test scores. Even undecided students averaged in the 51st percentile.
2. Students who planned to enter community colleges, trade schools or the job market all tested below the national average.

Thus, it appears that students are influenced by their academic preparation in choosing their post-high school plans. And minorities, who, as this study shows, typically receive a much worse education in schools with few students achieving the national average level, have very limited real access to most 4 year baccalaureate institutions.

Do High Schools Cause Inequality or Perpetuate Inequality From Lower Grades?

Although the focus of this chapter is on the educational opportunities in the high schools, the key institutions feeding the colleges, the data presented in this chapter does not prove that high schools themselves cause the unequal outcomes. In our discussions with officials at all levels in the educational system we have found that each blames the lower level schools for most, if not all, of the problems of inequality. It is in the nature of a system of educational channeling that the various levels fit

TABLE 73

1981 AVERAGE ACT SCORES OF STUDENTS ADMITTED TO CHICAGO-AREA COLLEGES

Institution	Score
Northwestern	29
Univ. of Chicago	28
UI-Urbana	26
Wheaton	26
Lake Forest	25
Augustana	24
IIT	24
Bradley	23
DePaul	23
North Central	23
Rockford	23
Loyola	22
Roosevelt	22
Rosary	22
St. Francis	21
Concordia	21
Illinois Benedictine	21
NIU	21
SIU-Carbondale	21
Trinity Christian	21
Aurora	20
Eastern	20
Elmhurst	20
North Park	20
St. Xavier	20
Trinity	20
Judson	19
Natl College of Ed	19
Shimer	19
Western	19
Lewis	18
Mundelein	18
SIU-Edwardsville	18
Barat	17
Kendall	17
George Williams	15
Northeastern	14
Chicago State	13

Source:

Barron's Profile.

together, continue or reinforce the inequalities from the lower levels, and feed students into higher levels of unequal institutions.

The Chicago achievement test scores show that the students do, in fact, enter high school very far below grade level and that the overall standing of the high school student bodies of the school district is not much changed by the experience of the first two years of high school. Scores for high school freshmen and juniors on reading tests in 1981 and 1982 are shown in Table 74.

TABLE 74

FRESHMAN AND JUNIOR YEAR HIGH SCHOOL READING SCORES, CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1981 AND 1982 (IN NATIONAL PERCENTILES)

	Spring 1981			Spring 1982		
	First Quartile	Median	Third Quart.	First Quart.	Median	Third Quart.
Freshmen	14	30	51	14	26	47
Juniors	11	25	46	14	30	52

Source: Chicago Board of Education. *Test Scores and Selected School Characteristics, High Schools 1981-1982.*

This data shows that attendance of two years of high school did not appear to make large changes in the performance of students in earlier grade levels. When one considers that, by the junior year, a large number of the students with the greatest academic problems as freshmen have already dropped out of school, it is certainly not possible to show any positive impact of the high school programs on the relative standing of students in terms of national norms.

It is true, of course, that students do come into the Chicago high schools very far below grade level and they go out very far below grade level, on average, just as it is true that students enroll in college with very different levels of preparation. It would be wrong to say that high schools are basically responsible for this problem but correct to say that they are important links in a system of inequality. If the system is to be changed, each level must be scrutinized and each must attempt to improve opportunities and raise performance. Certainly the data on high schools in this chapter that there is a great deal of work to be done at that level.

Differences in Administration of College Admissions Tests

Earlier sections of this report show clearly both that most Chicago area students wish to attend four-year colleges rather than community colleges and that students who do enroll in four-year colleges have very much better prospects of finishing college and receiving a degree. One of the differences between enrolling in a community college, which generally requires only high school graduation and most four-year colleges is the need to take college admissions examinations. The most important of these exams for Illinois institutions is the ACT test. If students do not take these examinations they cannot attend many colleges. One sign of the extreme channeling in Chicago area high schools is the sharp variation in the level of testing at various schools and the fact that there are a number of schools where virtually no students take these crucial tests.

Colleges use three major factors to determine admission to their programs: high school rank; gradepoint average; and ACT/SAT college entrance examination scores. Since the first two criteria are relative, (i.e., involve a student's individual performance in relation with his own school peers), these cannot be used to determine the quality of a schools' college preparatory program. College admissions officers claim that a C average from certain schools is comparable or even carry more weight than an A average from another school. Thus, the third criterion, the average ACT/SAT schores of each high school, are important measures of a school's students' skills.

There are difficulties in obtaining this information, however. First, these figures are not centrally collected, Thus, in order to obtain them, one must write to each individual school district. Second, even if one requests these figures, the decision on whether to release these figures or not is up to each individual school district's discretion.

The ACT would not release information of average ACT testing scores of the public high schools. ACT is the most important test for colleges in Illinois. However, ACT did release information on which schools ordered 50 or more ACT testing forms. Thus, we were able to obtain information on which schools ordered less than 50 ACT forms. Since taking these exams is a prerequisite for entrance to most four-year colleges, if a school did not order at least 50 forms, it indicates that the students attending these schools would not be as likely to continue on to higher education as in the other schools.

Among the schools that did not order at least 50 ACT forms, two were the smallest high schools in the system. These (Chicago Metropolitan and Industrial Skills Center) were excluded from the analysis of schools which did not order 50 or more ACT forms. Other high schools were also excluded since reading test scores were unavailable for them. These include: B de Las Casas, Washburne Trade School, Wilson occupational, and McLaren Occupational.

The remaining schools which ordered few if any tests had the following characteristics: All had student bodies that were at least four-fifths minority, averaging a 96% minority population. Of these, more than half (55.6%) were completely minority. Thus, these schools averaged 18.2% above the city average for percentage minority.

These schools also averaged an 82.3% low-income students. Thus, these schools averaged 24.1% above the city average. There were no comparable schools in the suburbs on either dimension.

The schools which ordered less than 50 ACT tests also had among the lowest reading test scores averages in the entire Chicago public school system. They averaged in the 16.4 percentile.

TABLE 75

SCHOOLS THAT ORDERED LESS THAN 50 ACT TESTS

School	% Minority	% Low-Income	% of Student Body Involved	Reading Test Percentile
DuSable	100.0	100.0	2.38	14
Phillips	100.0	99.5	2.25	14
Cregier Voc	84.8	98.0	5.44	10
Flower Voc	100.0	97.9	7.95	14
Simeon Voc	100.0	57.0	2.71	27
Clemente	93.5	86.9	1.48	16
Collins	100.0	90.7	2.86	16
Juarez	95.4	40.7	2.79	21
Near North	90.0	70.4	4.72	16

We evaluated this aspect of access to higher education in another, similar way. Like the ACT, the SAT would not release information of average testing scores. However, it did release information concerning the number of PSAT forms ordered. The number of forms ordered gives an indication of the number of students preparing for higher education in selective colleges.

Schools which ordered the most forms were predominantly white or integrated and had a higher income student makeup. These schools also had a higher than the city average reading test score.

TABLE 76

SCHOOLS WHICH ORDERED THE MOST PSAT FORMS

School	% Minority	% Low-Income	% of Student Body Involved	Reading Test Percentile
Lindblom	98.7	52.2	50.5	52
Young	77.2	39.3	38.2	48
Julian	100.0	56.1	17.8	27
Kenwood Acd.	76.1	29.3	14.9	48
Collins	100.0	90.7	13.9	16
Lincoln Park	67.5	66.6	10.2	30
Chicago Metro	82.7	46.6	10.1	32
Lane Tech	27.3	19.8	8.9	74
Bogan	34.2	22.7	7.6	48
Matther	20.4	4.8	7.5	48

In contrast, schools which ordered the least PSAT forms were virtually all-minority (averaged 94.5% minority) and predominantly low-income (averaged 61.5% low-income). These schools also contained among the lowest reading test scores in the city, averaging 14.4% below the city average. The average student in these schools scored in the 15.6 percentile. In other words, 84.4% of students in the nation scored better on the reading test than the average student in these schools. The following schools ordered no forms.

TABLE 77

SCHOOLS THAT DID NOT ORDER ANY PSAT FORMS

School	% Minority	% Low-Income	Reading Test Percentile
Phillips	100.0	99.5	14
Cregier Voc	84.8	98.0	10
Flower Voc	100.0	97.9	14
Richards Voc	89.0	47.3	16
Jones Metro	95.3	62.5	24
Industrial Skill	98.1	53.2	N/A
Average	94.5	78.4	15.6

Half the schools that did not order PSAT forms also had less than 50 ACT test takers. Of these schools, three-fourths are almost completely minority (98%-100%) and three-fourths are almost entirely low-income. These predominantly minority, low-income schools contained the worst reading scores found in the city, averaging in the 12.6 percentile.

TABLE 78

SCHOOL THAT ORDERED NEITHER PSAT NOR ACT FORMS

School	% Minority	% Low-Income	Reading Test Percentile
Phillips	100.0	99.5	14
Cregier Voc	84.8	98.0	10
Flower Voc	100.0	97.9	14
Industrial Skill	98.1	53.2	N/A
Average	95.7	87.2	17.4

Further analysis of the three groups of schools reveals that consistently, income level seems to play an even greater role in determining reading test scores and impetus to continue on to higher education than minority level. For example, in schools which ordered less than 50 ACT test forms and in schools which ordered the least PSAT test forms, the presence of low-income was more closely related than race. Of course all very low-income schools are minority schools.

Minorities which come from higher income backgrounds tend to perform better on reading tests than their counterparts from lower income backgrounds. In fact, the second highest reading test score average in the city is from Lindblom, an almost completely black school selective admissions containing a student body economically above the city average. Lindblom ordered enough PSAT forms for a little over half its student body (50%). This is amazing considering that the average Chicago public high school ordered enough forms for only 5% of its student body. Lindblom ordered 45% more than the city average and 12.3% more than the next highest test form orderer. In fact, a separate analysis of the top seven PSAT test orderers reveals that 4 of these schools represented 44.4% of the existing integrated schools (previously defined as 66.4%-86.4% minority student body composition). The remaining three schools are predominantly minority but contain relatively a smaller low-income student population in comparison with other predominantly minority schools.

The Significance of Differential Testing

Middle class college-bound children are brought up with a consciousness of the importance of the key college tests to there career that makes the idea of not taking the tests almost inconceivable. Important parts of their school's program are geared to preparing them to succeed at this key challenge, both in terms of substantive curriculum and important test-taking experience and skills. The data on testing shows that, at the other end of the spectrum, there are group of schools, overwhelmingly poor and minority in composition, where it is assumed that virtually no one will go to a regular college and the test is not even administered.

High School Attrition

Using data from the Illinois Board of Education and *Reading Test Scores and Selected Characteristics* the attrition rates of Chicago and suburban high schools were calculated. Attrition is defined as the difference between ninth grade fall enrollment in 1979 and twelfth grade fall enrollment in 1982 (1978 and 1981 for the city figures). The city of Chicago averaged a 47.7% attrition while the suburban area averaged 8.5%, about a sixth of the city rate.

Chicago

The dropout rate for Chicago high schools (excluding special education) ranged from 89% at Near North High School to a 13% increase in enrollment at Taft High School. The schools with the highest attrition rates in the city are listed in Table 79. A high attrition rate is related to a high percentage of minority and low-income students and low reading test scores, as the table indicates. The schools with the most dropouts averaged 92% minority and 72% low-income, substantially above the city averages, and their reading scores all fell within the lowest 11% of Chicago high schools. The schools with the lowest attrition rates are listed in Table 80. Three schools increased in enrollment between ninth and twelfth grades. One school had a 100% minority enrollment, Chicago Vocational. The other four schools averaged 32% minority and 28% low-income; both figures are about half the city average. The reading scores for all these schools were within the top six ranks in the city. The relationship between attrition and race, income, and reading scores is clear.

The suburbs

The attrition rates for suburban Chicago counties are listed in Table 81. They range from a low of 2% in DuPage County to a high of 18% in Kane County.

The five highest attrition rates in suburban schools are listed in Table 82, alongside their percent minority and low-income enrollments. Two of the five schools have minority compositions more than four times the suburban average; these same two schools have low-income compositions more than three times the suburban

TABLE 79

SCHOOLS WITH DROPOUT RATES OF 70% OR MORE

School	% Attrition	% Minority	% Low-Income	Reading Score Rank*
Near North	89.3	89.8	70.4	5th lowest
Austin	78.7	100.0	35.2	5th lowest
Marshall	76.8	100.0	83.3	2nd lowest
Lincoln Park	75.5	67.5	66.6	8th lowest
South Shore	72.5	100.0	53.7	5th lowest
Cregier Voc	70.8	84.8	98.0	1st lowest
Flower Voc	70.2	100.0	97.9	4th lowest

Note: (*) Comparison with other Chicago High Schools.
Source: Chicago Board of Education.
Reading Test Scores and Selected Characteristics, 1981-82.

TABLE 80

CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOLS WITH THE LOWEST ATTRITION RATES

School	% Attrition	% Minority	% Low-Income	Reading Score Rank*
Taft	-12.6	23.0	20.8	3rd highest
Bogan	- 6.1	34.2	22.7	3rd highest
Mather	- 1.2	20.4	4.8	3rd highest
Curie	13.7	52.9	31.0	4th highest
Chicago Voc	18.0	100.0	59.3	6th highest

Note: (*) Comparison with other Chicago High Schools.
Source: Chicago Board of Education.
Reading Test Scores and Selected Characteristics, 1981-82.

TABLE 81

SUBURBAN CHICAGO COUNTY AVERAGE ATTRITION RATES, 1982

District	Percent Attrition
Suburban Cook	7.6
DuPage	2.4
Lake	10.9
Kane	18.0
McHenry	7.8
Will	12.2
All Suburban Counties	8.5

Source: Illinois State Board of Education.

average. At the same time two schools have below average minority enrollments and one has a below average low-income enrollment. A clear link between attrition rates and the presence of minority or low-income students cannot be established by this data. There are, of course, no all minority or all low-income schools in the suburbs.

TABLE 82

HIGHEST ATTRITION RATES IN SUBURBAN CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOLS, 1982

District	% Attrition	% Minority	% Low-Income
Reed Custer	31.3	1.0	13.8
Zion	31.7	17.7	13.1
Aurora East	31.8	56.3	28.3
Alden Hebron	32.6	.6	1.1
North Chicago	45.9	63.3	33.7

Source: Illinois State Board of Education.

Several schools noted increases in the enrollment between ninth and twelfth grades. The schools with the five greatest increases are listed in Table 83. Three of the five schools are located in Cook County; the remaining two are in DuPage County. All but one have minority compositions that are a quarter of the suburban average , and half or less the suburban low-income average.

TABLE 83

HIGEST INCREASES IN ENROLLMENT IN SUBURBAN CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOLS, 1982

District	% Increase	% Minority	% Low-Income
Elmhurst	6.0	3.6	.3
Oak Park River Forest	6.3	15.8	9.6
Hinsdale	6.7	2.6	.9
Lyons	9.3	3.0	1.2
Reavis	11.1	3.3	5.8

Source: Illinois State Board of Education.

City-Suburban Comparison

City and suburban attrition rates vary markedly. The highest attrition rate in the suburbs, 46% at North Chicago, is lower than the city's average attrition rate of 47%. Only three city high schools, each posting an increase in enrollment, have attrition rates at or below the suburban average.

Failure to graduate from high school is one of the most serious causes of unequal access to higher education. The analysis of the High School and Beyond survey in Chapter 9 shows that the college enrollment differences among minority and white students who actually graduate from high school are far narrower than for the overall population and some of these differences actually run in favor of black students. The extremely high dropout rates in the Chicago low-income minority schools are one crucial cause of unequal higher education. (The much higher dropout rate for white students in the city compared to their suburban counterparts are an important reason for the lower college enrollments of city whites.) If the gap is college attendance is to narrow significantly there must be urgent attention to the issue of high school retention, particularly in the inner city.

Increasing Graduation Requirements and the Dropout Problem

Graduation standards are increasing both at the state level and within the Chicago school district and colleges are in the process of substantially increasing their admissions requirements. The state of Illinois upgraded its graduation requirements for students entering high school in fall 1984 to require completion of two courses in math and one in science. This would be virtually no change in the average high school science experience in Illinois, though it would be a new requirement for those students who had taken none. In Chicago students were already required to take at least one science and one math course. The changes would mean only that all students would have to take at least two math courses. Since Chicago students were already required to take a second course in either science or math it was not likely to make much difference.

A comparison of Chicago's graduation requirements with those of other big cities showed that there was little overall difference but that although Chicago students were required to take only three total courses in math and science, in three of the four comparison districts the students were required to take two courses of each. Chicago's English and social studies requirements, on the other hand, were slightly higher than average (Illinois State Board of Education, 1983: p. 14).

During 1983 a major internal study of Chicago high schools produced a "High School Renaissance Program" which included a dramatic upgrading of the city's graduation requirements. The new standards were adopted by the Board in November 1983 for full implementation by 1987.

Presently, a student has the option of two years of math and one year of science or two years science and one year math. In 1987, two years of both math and science will be required. Moreover, the type of science required is different. In 1987, these two years of science must include laboratory experience.

Presently, foreign language is not required to graduate. According to Patrick Ahern, the Executive Director of the high school Renaissance Program, at this time, "...some schools don't have any foreign language courses offered." Students attending these schools certainly are more limited in their access to four-year baccalaureate institutions. In 1987, two years of foreign language will be required. To prepare students for a more technological society there are newly required semesters in both Computer Awareness and typing.

The final change is the most drastic. In 1987, remedial or catch-up type of programs will carry no credit. This change raises the level of course work a student is expected to complete. Presently, remedial math, science and English are sufficient to graduate (Chicago Board of Education, "Documents Pertaining to: New Graduation Requirements", March 1984).

The new requirements would obviously upgrade the standards for receiving a high school diploma in Chicago very dramatically. Research by the State Board of Education in 1983, for example, indicates that the new Chicago graduation requirements in science and math would be above those in place in nine-tenths of the schools in the state in 1983 and that less than one-third of one percent of the high schools required as much foreign language instruction as Chicago proposes (Illinois State Board of Education, 1983: pp. 9-11).

There is no evidence, according to the state review of the research, that raising the graduation requirements would produce increased acheivement levels. A study of this issue found, in fact, that there was no relationship nationally, in part because of the heavy reliance of low-achieving districts on announcing tougher requirements as a response to their problems. A nation-wide study by the National Center for Education in 1983 concluded:

> The failure to find a consistent pattern of positive relationships betwen requirements and acheivement may arise from a number of factors. First, there is a tendency for school districts with lower student achievement to raise formal requirements as a strategy for improving achievement, while higher achieving districts see less need for this type of action.... Second, in some districts... policies may not have been in effect long enough to result in measurable differences in achievement... (Illinois State Board of Education, June 15, 1983: p. 19).

The most serious question about the requirements concerns their possible impact on high school dropouts. In a school district where about half the students do not graduate under existing requirements and where there are numerous schools with much higher dropout rates and extremely low levels of academic achievement, students would face difficulty in completing more demanding requirements. There is a serious possibility that rapidly and dramatically increasing the standards for graduation may substantially increase the dropout rate. Given the fact that high school diplomas not only serve as an indicator of academic success but also as an essential qualification for all but the most menial jobs in many sectors of the economy, this is a very serious risk. As the Chicago system attempts to suddenly increase its standards for all students, without adequate resources to help students who will have serious problems, the social and economic consequences of this change require urgent attention. It is clearly essential that all students in the Chicago schools be given real access to solid college preparatory curricula and classes. This does not mean, however, that turning the entire system into a college prep institution in a very short period of time is necessarily wise or workable. The most unpleasant outcome would be one in which tougher requirements actually increased the problems in later life for the students who have been most severely harmed by the Chicago schools. Almost surely those would be Hispanic and black students from low-income areas in the city.

Summary

On every dimension measured in this chapter, the city and suburban high schools are different worlds educationally and there are wide gaps within the city. The more affluent white suburban areas have more teachers, more specialists in the key pre-collegiate subjects, much lower dropout rates, and smaller class sizes. Within the city the low-income minority schools lack even the basic essentials for college preparation, have few students who complete school, and even their graduates operate extremely far below grade level achievement. The current trend is to view the problem as one of inadequate requirements. Obviously, there is some truth to that description but the prescription of simply raising the requirements without changing all the other elements that support a system of separate and unequal schooling may result not in sweeping solutions but in what may turn out to be more punitive measures against the least prepared students and their schools.

CHAPTER 9

ILLINOIS STUDENT BACKGROUNDS, INFORMATION AND COLLEGE CHOICE A SURVEY ANALYSIS OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

This chapter reports on survey data collected in a sample of some 670 high school seniors in 59 Illinois schools in the spring of 1980. Because the base year survey was conducted late in the academic year, the high school graduation rates for this sample are substantially higher than that of the entire population of this age group, particularly for minority groups. For this reason, this sample should be thought of as representative of Illinois high school graduates. The same students were reinterviewed two years later. As a result, this survey provides a good glimpse at the background factors and personal histories which influence students in their choice and persistence in college.

Since the data are from a sample unlike most presentations in this study, statistical methods are required in order to make generalizations from the sample to the population of 1980 Illinois high school seniors. The chapter employs a combination of methodological strategies. Descriptive statistics and modeling are used, the latter to provide a greater degree of control over several variables simultaneously. The major findings are:

1) Black students appear to rely more heavily than white students on school related resource personnel for advice on post-secondary plans.

2) Hispanic students reaching their senior year have higher high school dropout rates than either black or white seniors, are less likely to enroll in high school academic curricula, and are more likely to attend two year colleges.

3) Over 80% of Illinois high school graduates of 1980 are estimated to have attended some post-secondary institution in the two years following high school. About a third of these students made no formal application during their senior year and when they did enroll, they were more likely to attend two year institutions.

4) Application during senior year is related to the level of parental education. Income and racial group are not strongly related to the preparation of a college application during the senior year.

5) Among those students completing their senior year, black and Hispanic students are more likely than white students to attend some post-secondary institution. A much larger fraction of minority students, however, do not survive to the senior year in high school. Differences in family income appear to affect white students' attendance the most. Minority seniors from lower income backgrounds report a proportionately higher attendance rate than white seniors.

6) Lower income students, regardless of race or income are less likely to attend college than 1980 Illinois seniors from upper income groups.

7) Black students in this sample appear to be the most informed of the three racial groups on college financial aid programs while Hispanics are least informed.

8) In Illinois, students attending four-year colleges are far more likely to receive aid from the state than those attending two year colleges or trade schools.

9) Students, regardless of race, drop out of college for many reasons, but chiefly due to inadequate finances, programs not relevant to their interests, career indecision, and excessive academic demands. Minorities are more likely to report dropping out for reasons of finances and program irrelevancy.

10) College attrition rates are closely related to the type of institution attended. Attrition rates at two year institutions and trade schools are an estimated six times higher among 1980 Illinois public high school seniors.

11) Hispanics appear to be least well served by the institutions of higher education in Illinois. This includes those institutions involved in financing college educations.

Introduction

This chapter deals with the data collected in the High School and Beyond survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center for the National Center for Education Statistics. This is the only current national study that will follow two cohorts of students (the sophomore and senior classes of 1980) from their high school years through their early twenties. The State of Illinois commissioned NORC to include more high schools in the survey within the state than was originally planned by the NCES to facilitate this type of research. The data includes information on students in 1980 in which respondents were asked about their background, attitudes, and plans in the spring of 1980. Also, in February of 1982, approximately half of these respondents (in the senior cohort) were located and again asked a variety of questions about their educational and employment histories, as well as additional questions about their current living conditions and attitudes.

It is very important to remember while reviewing the findings presented in this chapter that since the original sample of students was taken in the spring of 1980 nearly all of the respondents are high school graduates. This fact has a very important effect on the findings presented here. Therefore, this information is intended to address questions related to those students who have finished high school, not young adults in general.

The results of this survey allow researchers to get a much clearer idea of the simultaneous effects of a wide variety of individual and social characteristics on the eventual activities of students. In the past, separate sources of information on public and private school attendance, racial and locational data, and other issues were available, but rarely for the same individuals. If dropout rates were recorded by age and city, others could not determine how much of an effect racial composition of the school or income level of the family contributed to these rates because this information was not available on the particular students in question. The analysis presented here is facilitated by the availability of a wide variety of measured variables, some of which will be used as controls in the presentation.

The responses of the members of the senior cohort who participated in both surveys are used in this chapter. Part I of this chapter will be a description of the aspirations, backgrounds and college decisions for black, white and Hispanic students in this sample.[1] Part II will be a more sophisticated analysis of key variables of interest in this study using methods which will more adequately control for, as well as identify, significant effects and interactions between important student characteristics. Those students who were neither black nor Hispanic were coded as white for purposes of this report.[2]

After the second follow-up survey was conducted, the students in the Illinois sample represented 59 of the state's high schools. Table 84 shows the location and public-private distribution of

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[1] It should be noted that almost 1300 variables exist for each respondent in this survey, covering a very wide variety of issues. In an attempt to avoid an unnecessary overload of information, only those variables related to the policy concerns of this study are included in this analysis.

[2] Less than 4% of the respondents coded as white were originally something other than this: 3.5% were Asian or Pacific Islanders; .5% were Native Americans. It is assumed that these numbers were sufficiently small, 22 and three, respectively, to warrant their inclusion into the majority group. Unlike blacks and Hispanics, these groups are not segregated in Illinois schools.

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schools attended by students in this sample. Though the proportions of minority students in suburban or rural areas, and those attending nonpublic high schools, do not reflect the actual distribution of these students in the state, this overrepresentation allows for better comparison of the reported activities and situations experienced by students who have attended suburban or rural schools with those who have attended urban public schools. This urban/non-urban comparison will be carried out in Part I of this chapter to allow for comparisons to other chapters of this report which concentrate on urban areas only. Part II of this chapter will instead look at public school students in general while statistically controlling for such things as race, family income and parental education.[3]

TABLE 84

PERCENTAGES OF SENIORS RESPONDING "YES" TO HIGH SCHOOL QUESTIONS, BY RACE, 1980

	Black	Hispanic	White	Total
Number Responding	210	95	359	664
Is Your School in A(n):				
Urban Area	57.6	29.5	14.2	30.1
Suburban Area	41.4	62.1	64.3	56.8
Rural Area	1.0	8.4	21.4	13.1
Is Your High School Public?	76.2	76.0	83.0	79.4

The first thing to note in Table 85 is that, because the 1980 seniors were interviewed late in their senior year, nearly all (92.5%) of the students in the sample report that they eventually graduated from high school. According to the State of Illinois Board of Education statistics,[4] about 6.2% of high school students in Illinois had dropped out of school during each of the two years before this survey. Data reported in Chapter 8 of this report shows that almost half the students in Chicago public schools do not finish high school. Since the purpose of this chapter is to examine the characteristics of those who pursue higher education, the absence of the correct proportion of high school dropouts will not interfere with the analysis.

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[3] The split between urban and non-urban could not be carried out in Part II because of the small sample size, but since the variables to be examined there are more related to the personal backgrounds of the individual students rather than the type of school they attend (as is covered in Part I), this is not viewed as a significant problem.

[4] As reported in *The State of the Child*, Mark Testa and Fred Wulczyn, Children's Policy Research Project, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, 1980; p. 99.

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TABLE 85

PERCENTAGES OF STUDENTS RESPONDING "YES" TO COMPLETION QUESTIONS, BY RACE, 1982

	Black	Hispanic	White	Total
Number Responding	210	95	359	664
Which of These Exams Did You Take in High School?				
SAT	21.0	17.9	24.0	22.1
ACT	65.7	53.7	63.8	62.8
ASVAB	17.1	12.6	12.8	14.3
How Did You End High School?				
Graduated	92.4	84.2	95.3	92.5
Dropped Out	1.0	6.3	1.0	1.5
Took The GED	1.0	1.1	.0	.5

A preliminary analysis of the racial composition of the schools in this sample reveals a high level of racial segregation in the urban/public schools sampled. On the average, 88.6% of the schoolmates of the black students in our sample were also black; 53.3% of the schoolmates of the Hispanic students surveyed were black; and the white students in our sample attended schools which had an average of 13.1% black students.

Part I Descriptive Statistics of the High School and Beyond Sample

Some of the following tables (those that primarily deal with students' reported activities regarding post-secondary schooling) are reported separately by race and stratified by their school's location. The purpose of this is to control for the oversampling of minority students in suburban and rural schools while allowing for a more informative comparison between urban and suburban or rural areas for students in public schools. In considering this data it is important to keep in mind, as shown in Chapter 3, that many minority suburbanites do not live in middle class suburbs but in aging and relatively low-income satellite cities within the Chicago suburban ring.

Reports of Others Influence on Plans After High Schools

Table 86 shows the percentages of students reporting being influenced "a great deal" by various people with regard to their plans after high school. Except for the notably high rate for mother's influence reported by black students, there does not appear to be much variation reported across races for the level of influence by parents, friends, and relatives other than parents. The significant differences emerge when referring to people other than family and peer group. Blacks are far more likely to report being influenced by counselors, teachers, and recruiters (military and college) than either Hispanic or white students.[5] This suggests that, although family and friends play an important role in influencing the career plans of black students, they appear to rely more on school-related resource personnel for advice in their plans than their non-black peers.

TABLE 86

PERCENTAGES RESPONDING "A GREAT DEAL" TO THE QUESTION: "HOW MUCH HAS EACH OF THESE PEOPLE INFLUENCED YOUR AFTER-HIGH SCHOOL PLANS?", BY RACE, 1980

	Black	Hispanic	White	Total
Number Responding	183	88	331	602
Father	34.4	34.1	37.2	35.9
Mother	60.6	42.1	45.6	49.8
Friends or Relatives	38.2	31.0	26.6	30.9
Counselor	22.8	15.3	8.9	14.1
Teachers	28.2	13.1	12.6	17.6
Military Recruiter	8.6	2.4	1.2	3.7
College Recruiter	22.6	8.2	5.6	11.3

Table 87 and the five tables following it present both the information on students' high school experiences and relevant information on the first-choice and (when applicable) second-choice colleges or schools for those students who applied to any type of post-secondary educational institution. For the sake of brevity, only the most important findings will be reviewed; the relevant comparisons across school types will be presented separately for each racial group, followed by a comparison of the respective groups of school types across races. Only the responses of public high school students will be reviewed.

High School Information for Black Students

Table 87 shows that the proportions of students in each of the three types of programs (general, academic, and vocational) are roughly equivalent in both the urban/public school group and the suburban or rural/public school group.

There are no very dramatic differences in the rates of having taken college board exams in the two public school groups. There is, however, a substantial difference in the proportion of nonurban

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[5] Chi-square test reveals that the difference between blacks and the other two groups for school personnel variables exceeds significance levels of 99% confidence. Confidence levels exceeding 95% are usually regarded as high enough that the finding in the sample is highly likely to also exist in the population. Here, the population to which the sample generalizes is 1980 Illinois high school seniors.

TABLE 87

HIGH SCHOOL INFORMATION FOR BLACK STUDENTS BY LOCATION, PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS ONLY

	Urban	Suburban & Rural
High School Program:	(n=122)	(n=39)
General	32.0%	38.5%
Academic	32.0	30.8
Vocational	29.5	30.8
Exams Taken:		
SAT	13.1	23.1
ACT	58.2	56.4
ASVAB	15.6	41.0
Remedial Courses Taken:		
English	42.6	12.8
Mathematics	35.2	30.8
Ended High School By:		
Graduating	95.1	87.2
Dropping Out	1.6	.0
Taking GED	.0	5.1
Applied for Further Education:	72.1	64.1
Attended*	42.6	42.8

Note: (*) Some students attended schools that required no formal application.

students who have taken the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB).[6] This may be evidence of a more nonacademic career orientation among this group of students.

Members of the urban/public school group appear to be taking remedial English courses at a significantly higher rate than the other group, but both groups are taking remedial mathematics at essentially the same rate of about one-third.

The data on high school graduation and dropout rates are a bit suspect because of the high non-response rates (blacks, 3.3%, Hispanics, 8.7%; whites, 10.0%), but the fact that over 5% of the suburban or rural/public school group reported passing the GED instead of graduating is notable.

Application rates for both groups of blacks for any type of further education after high school were similar. Enrollment in an academic program does not seem to be a determining factor in the rate of application for some kind of further education among black students.[7]

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[6] This difference exceeds the 99% confidence limit.

Post-Secondary Education Information for Black Students

The response rates presented in Table 88 are for those black students who applied to one or more institutions for further education. Application and dropout rates were higher for urban blacks, whereas acceptance and attendance rates were higher for nonurban blacks. This is evidence that urban black students were more likely to apply to school for which they were not qualified, whereas the suburban and rural black students, though applying at lower rates, were more likely to apply to schools for which they were acceptable.

TABLE 88

POST-HIGH SCHOOL INFORMATION FOR BLACK STUDENTS BY LOCATION, PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS ONLY*

	Urban	Suburban & Rural
School of First Choice:	(n=88)	(n=25)
Was Accepted	88.6%	96.0%
Applied for Financial Aid	72.6	56.0
Attended	59.0	66.7
Dropped Out or Transferred	40.3	37.5
Type of School:		
Private	25.6	8.0
Non-Degree(Vocational)	17.0	12.0
Two-Year Junior College	31.7	24.0
Four-Year College/University	50.0	60.0
School of Second Choice:	(n=52)	(n=17)
Was Accepted	82.7%	82.3%
Applied for Financial Aid	48.9	57.1
Attended	42.4	57.1
Dropped Out or Transferred	---	---
Type of School:		
Private	5.8	11.8
Non-Degree(Vocational)	9.6	11.8
Two-Year Junior College	17.3	17.6
Four-Year College/University	5.8	5.9

Note: (*)Questions asked only of those who applied to schools to continue their education in any area.
(---)Missing values too numerous for reliable estimates.

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7. This point is further verified by our finding that, even though over three-fourths of the black students who attended private high schools reported being in an academic curriculum, their rate of application for further education was only about 10% higher than that of the urban/public school black students.

Of those who attended any type of post-secondary educational institution, there was a significant difference (at the 95% confidence level) in the public or private ownership of those schools. The urban public high school students were much more likely to attend a private institution than were the suburban or rural public school group. Of those students who applied to a second school, there was a noticeable drop in the proportions applying for financial aid for their second school among the urban students.

High School Information for Hispanic Students

The information presented in Table 89 shows that less than one-fourth of Hispanic students are in an academic high school curriculum. The distribution of students having taken college board exams is about equal for the city and non-city students, but the percentage of students who have taken the Armed Forces' ASVAB test, 25%, is much higher for suburban or rural school students.

TABLE 89

HIGH SCHOOL INFORMATION FOR HISPANIC STUDENTS BY LOCATION, PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS ONLY

	Urban	Suburban & Rural
High School Program:	(n=29)	(n=44)
General	37.9%	47.8%
Academic	24.1	18.2
Vocational	34.4	34.1
Exams Taken:		
SAT	10.3	18.2
ACT	44.8	47.7
ASVAB	3.4	25.0
Remedial Courses Taken:		
English	48.3	47.9
Mathematics	41.4	40.9
Ended High School By:		
Graduating	79.3	86.4
Dropping Out	6.9	9.1
Taking GED	.0	2.3
Applied for Further Education:	44.8	50.0
Attended*	31.0	40.9

Note: (*) Some students attended schools that required no formal application.

The rate of taking remedial courses is about equal for both types of classes for the two groups. The proportion of students who dropped out of high school in their senior year or opted to take the GED instead of graduate appears to be higher for public school students in the suburban or rural areas, though the sample size is not sufficient to determine if this difference is significant. Note that 15% to 20% of the Hispanic students did not report that they graduated from high school even though (to be included in the survey) they were still in school as of the Spring of their senior year.

Post-Secondary Education Information for Hispanic Students

Though only about half of the Hispanic urban and suburban or rural high school seniors applied for further education, as shown in Table 90, the rate of acceptance was about 85% for both groups. The attendance rates were higher for nonurban Hispanic students, but none of the results in this table is of significant confidence level to differentiate between the two groups.

TABLE 90

POST-HIGH SCHOOL INFORMATION FOR HISPANIC STUDENTS BY LOCATION, PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS ONLY*

	Urban	Suburban & Rural
School of First Choice:	(n=13)	(n=22)
Was Accepted	84.6%	86.4%
Applied for Financial Aid	61.5	53.4
Attended	69.0	81.0
Dropped Out or Transferred	56.3	55.0
Type of School:		
Private	25.0	9.5
Non-Degree(Vocational)	12.5	9.5
Two-Year Junior College	50.0	52.4
Four-Year College/University	31.3	33.3

Note: (*)Questions asked only of those who applied to schools to continue their education in any area. There were not sufficient numbers in the Hispanic sample to include data on Second Choice Schools.

The majority of the public school Hispanic students attended vocational schools or junior colleges. The dropout rate for public school students was over 50% for the students who attended any school after high school. Again, as with the black students, there appears to be a much higher percentage of urban students attending private schools after high school than the nonurban group.

High School Information for White Students

Table 91 reveals that the general program is most common for students in the urban areas, whereas the academic program has about equal enrollment with the general curriculum in suburban or rural public high schools. The rate of taking college board exams is about the same for the two public school groups, but the ASVAB is more likely to be taken by suburban or rural school students.

TABLE 91

HIGH SCHOOL INFORMATION FOR WHITE STUDENTS BY LOCATION, PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS ONLY

	Urban	Suburban & Rural
High School Program:	(n=52)	(n=246)
General	44.2%	34.1%
Academic	28.8	35.4
Vocational	21.1	22.0
Exams Taken:		
SAT	11.5	25.2
ACT	61.5	57.7
ASVAB	7.7	16.7
Remedial Courses Taken:		
English	21.1	26.8
Mathematics	15.4	21.9
Ended High School By:		
Graduating	100.0	94.7
Dropping Out	.0	.8
Taking GED	.0	.0
Applied for Further Education:	69.2	67.1
Attended*	76.9	73.5

Note: (*) Some students attended schools that required no formal application.

Remedial coursework is taken at about the same rate, except for the remedial math courses, which do not seem to be taken as often by students in the urban public schools. Nearly all of the white students in this sample appear to have graduated from high school.

Post-Secondary Information for White Students

On the whole, there appears to be quite a bit of consistency between the two groups for white students on the higher education characteristics, as shown in Table 92. Application and dropout rates are roughly equal. For the first-choice schools, the only notable difference is the low proportion of students in the suburban or rural areas that attended vocational schools.[8]

TABLE 92

POST-HIGH SCHOOL INFORMATION FOR WHITE STUDENTS BY LOCATION, PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS ONLY*

	Urban	Suburban & Rural
School of First Choice:	(n=36)	(n=165)
Was Accepted	97.2%	89.7%
Applied for Financial Aid	48.6	52.2
Attended	76.9	73.5
Dropped Out or Transferred	30.6	29.5
Type of School:		
Private	32.4	24.6
Non-Degree(Vocational)	16.2	8.2
Two-Year Junior College	40.5	40.9
Four-Year College/University	37.8	46.8
School of Second Choice:	(n=14)	(n=80)
Was Accepted	92.9%	81.3%
Applied for Financial Aid	15.4	34.3
Attended	83.3	24.0
Dropped Out or Transferred	12.5	29.7
Type of School:		
Private	14.3	8.7
Non-Degree(Vocational)	.0	2.5
Two-Year Junior College	21.4	20.0
Four-Year College/University	35.7	21.3

Note: (*)Questions asked only of those who applied to schools to continue their education in any area.

Among those who attended a second school, there was a noticeable drop in private school and/or two-year college attendance across groups, and although the proportion of white urban students attending four-year colleges remained about equal, the percent of nonurban students attending these types of schools as a second college dropped in half. There was also a substantial difference found in the rate at which white students applied for financial aid when attending a second school.

Comparison of High School Information Across Racial Groups

Reported program enrollment in the public schools is similar for blacks and whites, but not for Hispanic students, who are less likely to be in an academic program than the other two racial groups. "Academic" programs operate on very different levels, of course, in different schools.

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[8] This difference is significant at the 95% level of confidence.

No substantial differences exist in the rate of taking the college board exams, but minority students in public high schools are two to three times more likely to take the ASVAB exam than are white students. The military is obviously a much more serious career option for minority graduates.

Remedial coursework is taken at about a 40% to 45% rate by Hispanic students across both school groups. Black students in the urban areas take these courses at about the same rate, but to a lesser degree in other areas. White students take remedial courses at about a 20%-25% rate across both school groups. The reported dropout rates for seniors were highest for Hispanics in public schools followed by urban blacks.

Application rates for further education in this sample were highest for black students. (Of course, black students in the general population are much more likely not to reach their senior year and thus be uncounted in this survey.) Their rate of being accepted was similar to that of white students, with Hispanic students about 10% less likely to be accepted to any of these institutions. Minority students were much more likely to apply for some type of financial aid, with only about half of the white students attempting to apply. Minority families are much more likely to show financial need (see Chapters 3 and 14).

The rates of matriculation to vocational schools not granting degrees were similar across racial groups, but statewide attendance at two-year colleges was highest for Hispanic public school students, followed by white then black students. Dropout rates from these institutions between 1980 and 1982 were highest for Hispanic public school students (55%), followed by black (39%), and then white (30%) public school students.

Information on Dropout and Transfer Students

The information in Table 93 displays students responses to why they either dropped out or transferred from the first institution of higher education they had attended. The transfer rates are roughly equal across racial groups, but the dropout rates are higher for minorities.

The pattern that emerges is that students choose to either transfer or dropout for the same types of reasons. Either money is a problem or their interests change or are not clear enough to make it worth their while to continue at the school, though one notable exception is the high rate of response to the problem of being too far from home.

TABLE 93

TRANSFER AND DROPOUT INFORMATION FROM QUESTIONS ASKED IN 1982, BY RACE

	Black	Hispanic	White	Total
Number Responding	142	50	250	442
Did You Withdraw from the First School You Attended After High School?				
Yes	40.9%	46.0%	30.8%	36.8%
If So, Why?				
A)Transferred	20.6	16.3	18.2	18.8
Why?				
Interest Changed	40.0	44.4	17.5	28.4
Wanted:				
Less Expensive School	57.1	33.3	40.0	44.3
Smaller School	13.6	11.1	10.3	11.4
Larger School	14.3	25.0	15.4	16.2
School Closer to Home	26.1	44.4	35.5	35.7
School Farther from Home	9.1	11.1	10.5	10.1
Better Career Opportunities	31.8	22.2	48.7	40.0
More Prestigious School	20.0	11.1	21.6	19.7
B)Dropped Out	20.3	29.7	12.6	18.0
Why?				
Could Not Afford It	43.3	44.4	22.9	33.3
Working Full Time	18.8	22.2	21.7	20.8
Working Part Time	10.0	16.7	17.4	14.9
Married or Caring for Child	10.3	15.8	8.7	10.6
Undecided About Career Goal	34.5	55.6	64.0	53.6
Too Much Pressure	34.5	38.9	34.8	35.5
Program Irrelevant to Me	36.7	50.0	26.1	34.0
Failing	34.5	16.7	39.1	33.3

Other problems mentioned by about 30% of the students who dropped out are that they were under too much pressure and that they were failing. Working, either full-time or part-time, does not appear to be as much of a hindrance to continuing one's schooling as these factors.

For those who transferred, the top two reasons differed for the three racial groups. For blacks, it was the desire for a less expensive school and a change in their own interests. Hispanics also reported that their interests had changed, but just as many wanted to move back closer to home. Whites reported the desire for better career opportunities at another school, followed by the choice of a less expensive school.

For those who dropped out, the two top reasons for each group were as follows. Blacks reported that they either could not afford the school they had been attending or that their program of study was irrelevant to their interests. Hispanics reported both career indecision and program irrelevancy as their two top reasons for dropping out. Whites cited career indecision and the excessive demands of the program as their reasons.

It should be noted that the transfer students (except for expressing the desire to move closer to home) seem to have made their decisions mostly based on financial constraints and/or goal-oriented career decisions, while dropping out of school altogether appears to be much more related to lack of clear direction and an inability to cope with the demands of the program they had begun. For blacks, however, money is the most important single reason. Transfers, then, might be affected by more financial aid and expanded program and course offerings; but dropout rates, a cause for much greater concern, appear to also show a need for better high school educational preparation and career counseling, both in goal clarification and better awareness of the steps and demands necessary to meet those goals.

Knowledge and Use of Financial Aid Programs

This last section is concerned with addressing the findings already presented that well over 25% (and in some cases, over 50%) of the students attending post-secondary schools have not applied for any type of financial aid. Table 94 shows the percentages of students who had applied to a school who responded that they had "never heard" of the various types of aid programs listed. The National Direct Student Loan (NDSL) and Supplementary Educational Opportunity Grant (SEOG) were the programs least familiar to students on the average. In almost every case, however, black students were more likely to report they had heard of a program than white students, which corresponds to the higher rate of aid received by black students. Hispanics appear to be the least informed about the types of aid available.

Table 95 shows who in our sample received scholarships and grants and from what source for academic years 1980-81 and 1981-82. Seventy-five percent of the black students received some sort of aid for school, whereas only 57% of the Hispanics and 46% of the white students did. Minority students were more likely to receive the BEOG or Pell grants, and state scholarships were evenly distributed. The major difference was that white students received college or

TABLE 94

PERCENTAGES OF STUDENTS RESPONDING "NEVER HEARD OF THIS PROGRAM", BY RACE, 1980*

	Black	Hispanic	White	Total
Loan Programs:	(n=143)	(n=51)	(n=253)	(n=447)
NDSL	21.2	40.0	38.8	29.4
FGSL	23.9	34.0	26.4	26.7
State Loan	20.2	28.3	22.1	22.4
College Loan	15.6	31.5	25.6	23.7
Bank Loan	18.5	23.6	14.8	17.0
Grants and Scholarships:				
BEOG	4.4	26.4	17.9	15.2
SEOG	19.8	37.3	32.8	29.9
ROTC Scholarship	15.7	21.2	16.0	16.6
State Scholarship	11.2	26.9	14.4	15.2
College Scholarship	8.4	25.0	15.6	14.9
Private Scholarship	12.7	29.4	18.2	18.2
Vocational Rehabilitation	20.0	20.4	18.6	19.2
CETA	9.6	26.9	23.3	20.2
Work Study	10.7	22.2	18.4	16.8
Cooperative Education	25.0	33.3	24.9	26.0

Note: (*)Responses are only for those who had applied for further education after high school.

university scholarships at a much higher rate than minority students. The rate of aid to students appears to have remained stable in all categories over the two academic years.

Summary

With the cautions mentioned above due to limited sample size, there is evidence of differential rates of preparedness for and success in post-secondary education between racial groups. It appears that, when controlling for urban vs. suburban or rural high school attendance, Hispanic students suffer the greatest disadvantage when it comes to successful progress in continuing their education after high school. Though they are enrolled in more remedial courses in high school to assist them in overcoming any possible language barrier, they were found to be far less informed about the essential types of financial aid available, had the highest dropout rate from schools, and expressed more overall concern over the pressures and irrelevancy of their post-secondary training than their non-Hispanic peers. Much work needs to done to gain a greater understanding of the Hispanic student, both

TABLE 95

PERCENTAGES RECEIVING SCHOLARSHIPS OR GRANTS FROM SELECTED SOURCES FOR ACADEMIC YEARS 1980-81 AND 1981-82, BY RACE*

	Black	Hispanic	White	Total
Total Number Responding	143	51	253	447
Recieved No Aid Either Year	24.5	43.1	54.2	43.4
Aid Received in 1980-81:	(n=95)	(n=28)	(n=99)	(n=222)
BEOG or Pell Grant	88.4	71.4	52.5	70.3
SEOG	21.1	10.7	15.2	17.1
ROTC	.0	.0	3.0	1.4
State Scholarship	43.2	46.4	44.4	44.1
College Scholarship	6.3	10.7	20.2	13.1
Aid Received in 1981-82:	(n=83)	(n=17)	(n=82)	(n=182)
BEOG or Pell Grant	88.0	82.4	50.0	70.3
SEOG	16.9	5.9	11.0	13.2
ROTC	.0	.0	4.9	2.2
State Scholarship	41.0	41.1	39.0	40.1
College Scholarship	8.4	11.8	23.2	15.4

Note: (*)Responses are only for those attending school during the given academic years.

culturally and within the school environment, in order to help these students take full advantage of the opportunities currently available to them.

The black students in this sample appear to be faring a bit better than their Hispanic counterparts, yet their success rate at pursuing higher educational goals (as evidenced by the dropout rates) is still below that of the white students. There is evidence that they are more aware than other students of nearly every type of program available to assist them in overcoming financial difficulties, yet many report financial problems. The problem appears to be, as with Hispanics, a lack of clear understanding of what they are preparing themselves for, as well as insufficient advice on the proper course of action with regard to program enrollment necessary to achieve the goals they have set for themselves.

The most crucial barrier to access for both blacks and Hispanics-dropping out of high school-could not be studied from this survey. Though white students express the same kinds of reasons for dropping out of school, the proportion of whites who dropped out was significantly less than for the minority groups.

The second part of this chapter will attempt to take a more methodical approach to understanding the relationship of more personal characteristics of the respondents to things discussed above - namely rates of application and attendance at post-secondary institutions, financial aid distribution and dropout rates.

Part II Modeling with the High School and Beyond Public School Sample

This section reports on analyses conducted under a modeling approach using a subsample of the data presented above in this chapter. Only the public school sample for the State of Illinois was included in the models reported here, since that is the only sample which represents a probability sample which does not require extensive weighting techniques prior to analysis. The public school sample consists of about 530 Illinois high school seniors. However, due to nonresponse for given survey items, the numbers reported in the analyses here will be substantially lower than those for the full public school sample.

Since the current sample is, conservatively, only representative of 1980 Illinois high school persisters, it seems plausible, then, that the minority students represented in this sample will have higher levels of achievement, motivation, and college aspiration than their nonminority cohort. Analysis of college attendance rates presented later in this chapter bears this argument out. This observation is especially important with regard to minority groups, who consistently demonstrate higher high school withdrawal rates in the general population.

The logistic modeling approach taken here is attributable to Goodman[9] and Bock.[10] Linear logistic models are particularly applicable to the categorical (tabular) data obtained in survey responses. What will be referred to below as "dependent variables" are measures of those outcomes which have been of concern throughout this study. They include application for and attendance to college, the receipt of financial aid, and withdrawal from college. By contrast, what are referred to as "independent variables" are the presumed determinants or correlates of the dependent outcomes mentioned above. The independent variables incorporated into the models in this section are measures of many of the most important social and economic attributes of the current study. They include family income, race and educational level of the parents, and are defined more carefully below.

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[9] Goodman, L. *Analyzing Categorical/Qualitative Data.* Cambridge, MA: Abt Books, 1978.

[10] Bock, R. D. *Multivariate Analysis of Qualitative Data.* (Draft Manuscript). The University of Chicago, Department of Behavioral Sciences.

The general modeling technique employed here is often referred to as "hierarchical model fitting", and is similar to the more familiar stepwise techniques of regression.[11] The incorporation of a statistical criterion is important for sampled data. Using a relatively conservative level of .05 (i.e., 95% level of confidence) helps to insure that the observed relationships in the sample are of sufficient strength that they are nearly certain to also exist in the population from which the sample was drawn. Under the given assumptions and limitations then, the techniques applied here give a high degree of confidence that the substantive findings actually exist in the population of 1980 Illinois public high school persisters, and not just those 530 students sampled from that population.

Any independent variable which does not achieve the statistical criterion of .05 is dropped from the model. Variables eliminated from the model are also of substantive interest since they suggest what variables are exerting relatively less or no influence on the sytem under study. For example, if federal and state assistance programs have successfully eliminated income as a barrier to college attendance, then one would expect income to be statistically unimportant to college attendance and dropped from a model of attendance. To anticipate a later section, this goal has not yet been achieved. However, to the extent that income may function as a surrogate for other unmeasured social factors (See Chapter 2) it would, of course, be improper to conclude that only family finances or any other single variable determines college attendance.

The tables reported in this section are estimated proportions of responses for a given category. The term "estimated proportions" refers to those proportions that would be expected if the final (retained) model were in fact true. The model estimates, then, differ from the raw, observed proportions in that they do not incorporate the statistical error associated with those factors accounted for in the final model. This includes, of course, those variables eliminated during the model fitting process.

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[11] Briefly, an attempt is made to explain the dependent variables of interest (e.g. college attendance) by one or more independent variables which the researcher believes to be related. Those independent variables demonstrating the largest statistical relationship, that is, the highest correlation, are retained in the model. The criterion for retaining an independent variable in the model is the commonly used probability level of .05, which means, informally, that the observed statistical relationship will occur on a chance basis only five times in a hundred.

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Table 96, presents the estimated effect of parental education on college application for the 1980 Illinois public school seniors. Race and family income were not found to be significant predictors of application to college during the senior year, and they were dropped from the model. This means that seniors from any income level or any racial group were about equally likely to apply for college during 1980. Of the three variables then, only the level of parental education was related to college application during the senior year.

TABLE 96

MODEL ESTIMATES FOR REPORTED APPLICATION TO COLLEGE BY PARENTAL EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

(N=356)

		Proportion applied to college
Parental Education	Less than 2 years	.55
	More than 2 years	.67

Model Fit=10.76, df=16

The estimated proportions in Table 96 can be interpreted as the (estimated) likelihood that a student with a given parental level of education will have applied to college at the time of the 1980 survey. The "Model Fit" is the maximum likelihood estimate of the chi square statistic for the goodness-of-fit for the final, retained model. The smaller the model fit statistic is relative to its degrees of freedom (df) the closer the model conforms to the observed (raw) proportions put into it. All of the models reported in this section demonstrate a satisfactory level of statistical fit. In short, then, the fit statistic insures that the observed data (the dependent variable) can be accurately (within statistical boundaries) described by the statistical model retained.

Beyond the clear family background effect of parental education the striking feature of Table 96 is that well over 50% of all graduating seniors report some formal effort to gain access to college during their senior year. The primary independent variables employed in the analyses reported below are the same three used above in the college application model. Parental education has two levels: a) one or both parents having attended college for at least two years; and b) neither parent having attended at least two years of college. Reported family income has three levels: a) less than $12,000 per annum; b) more than $12,000 but less than $20,000 per annum; and c) more than $20,000 per annum. Race has three classes:

black, Hispanic and white. Consistent with other analyses throughout this report, Asians, Pacific Islanders, and American Indians are incorporated into the white category.

These independent variables are intended to be crude, though statistically effective indicators for the race and family background factors of interest throughout this study. Missing responses, along with a limited sample size have prohibited the construction of more sophisticated indicators or the addition of more variables in the models to serve as indicators. As contingency tables are developed by crossing the levels of the effects, the cell Ns become quite small, and statistically unreliable. For this reason, most of the models in this chapter are initially fit with only one or two independent variables. Clearly, this restriction greatly reduces the effectiveness of the modeling approach employed here, and as earlier cautions have suggested, results should be interpreted with those uncontrolled and unmeasured variables in mind. It is also for this reason that the rather conservative statistical significance level of .05 is maintained.

Several final points are in order with regard to the many potential effects not controlled for models presented herein. These include, for example, the quality of the high school education delivered to the student, the student's credentials, such as grades and standardized test scores, or the potentially vast array of psychosocial, attitudinal, and motivational background factors (See Chapter 2). First, as mentioned above, the limited sample size prohibited the incorporation or development (through scaling techniques) of variables designed to measure such factors. For this reason, the present analyses are oriented to rather concrete measurements of independent variables such as income and race, and rather concrete outcome-oriented dependent variables, such as college applicaton, attendance, and existence of financial aid. Second, student achievement and high school transcript data were not available. Similarly, measures of some important high school level variables were not associable with individual students. Fortunately, however, some control over many of these factors is automatically exerted by the rather homogeneous sample. As mentioned above, the vast majority of the seniors in the public school sample reported receiving their diplomas. Similarly, as the present study has already recounted for at least the Chicago metropolitan area (See Chapter 8), the lack of a high school diploma is the only formal barrier to gaining access to some college and probably not a barrier at all for admission to some trade schools and two-year programs. Taken together, then, these factors exert some considerable control for statistical purposes over the relationship between high school achievement and college attendance. Obviously, the lack of direct control over achievement factors makes conclusions drawn about the type of college attended more tenuous. This is indeed unfortunate, since this latter investigation is most directly related to the channeling hypotheses, a central concern of the present study.

Applying to College and Attending College

A first model employs two dependent variables, application to college as of survey time in 1980, and attending college at least sometime in the two years following high school graduation. For this analysis, each respondent is classified into one of four dependent categories: a) applied for and attended college; b) applied for but did not attend college; c) did not apply while still in high school but still attended college; and d) did not apply for and did not attend college.

The independent variables related to these response combinations are income and race. Although related to college application in the previous model, parental education was not fit, for reasons of small cell sizes. Instead, race and income were selected based on their theoretical importance to the present study. Both factors are retained, indicating that both income and race are closely related to the application and attendance process. The final model is additive, meaning that there is no significant interaction between race and income. The model estimates are reported in Table 97.

The most striking feature of this table is the relatively high estimated proportion, about 1/3 overall, who reported that they had not applied to college by the end of their senior year, yet attended college anyway or were currently enrolled at some point in the two years following high school graduation. This effect is particularly marked among Hispanic students.

Plausibly, those students who completed their college applications by May of their senior year are perhaps the academic, "college bound from birth" students. This may explain the powerful effect found for parental college experience. It also seems likely that a parent who has already gone through the college application process would better understand the long lead times involved and encourage the child to begin the standardized testing and admission process earlier than a parent who had not attended college. The

TABLE 97

MODEL ESTIMATES FOR REPORTED APPLICATION WHILE IN HIGH SCHOOL VERSUS REPORTED COLLEGE ATTENDANCE BY RACE AND INCOME (N=379)

	1982					
	Black		Hispanic		White	
1980	Attend	No Att	Attend	No Att	Attend	No Att
Low Income						
Apply	.56	.06	.46	.06	.41	.14
No Apply	.35	.04	.42	.06	.34	.11
(Total attending)	.91		.88		.75	
Middle Income						
Apply	.63	.04	.54	.05	.50	.10
No Apply	.31	.02	.38	.03	.33	.07
(Total attending)	.94		.92		.83	
High Income						
Apply	.69	.03	.61	.03	.58	.08
No Apply	.26	.01	.34	.02	.30	.04
(Total attending)	.95		.95		.88	

Model Fit=25.31, df=19.

second striking feature of Table 97 is the consistently high attendance rates to post-secondary institutions reported by both minority groups. Some of these students are attending trade schools. The implication here is that minority students who persist through high school are even more likely to attend post-secondary institutions than their majority classmates. It may be that minority students tend to view a high school diploma as a stepping stone to upward mobility, while white students who persist to high school graduation are more likely to see the diploma as an end in itself. Or it may be that community pressures, job expectations, school norms and parental expectations make high school completion almost mandatory for white students but that without similar support only the most motivated minority students finish.

Finally, the effect of family income is significant and generally in the expected direction for all four response combinations. Table 97 indicates that students of all three race groups from higher income families are more likely to attend college and to apply to college during their senior year. Income differences appear to have the greatest effect on white students, and the least on black. A model fit just college attendance as the only dependent variable (college application was not statistically significant) yielded similar results (Model Fit = 14.44, df=14).

Significantly, parental education dropped out of this model, and only the additive effects of race and income were retained. Model estimates are not reported, since they are virtually identical to those obtained in Table 97 (total attending). The suggestion is that parental education seems to affect the timing of the application, but not the actual attendance rate for those Illinois public high school seniors graduating in 1980.

The other important perspective here is that those applying to college in their senior year are not the same group of students who subsequently attend college. Students from any income level or any racial group are nearly equally likely to apply. However, minorities and upper income students are more likely to actually attend a post-secondary institution. The implication here, particularly for Hispanic students, is that those desiring a college education but not applying will have to attend less selective institutions.

Reception of Financial Aid

This set of analyses examines the reception of state and federal aid by students attending college in the High School and Beyond public school sample. These analyses are not strictly controlled for by the complex income adjustment formulas (see Chapter 14) applied by granting government agencies. In fact, the three level income variable applied throughout this Chapter was not significant in predicting the reception of aid from the State of Illinois. About 14% of the students attending college reported receiving at least some aid from the State of Illinois, regardless of income level. For federal aid, about a third of those at the middle income level reported receiving at least some aid, as did about a quarter at the lowest income level, and about a fifth at the upper income level. For federal aid, this difference by income level is only of borderline significance statistically, and was not incorporated into subsequent models. Once again, the difficulty is that additional variables lead to small, statistically unreliable cell sizes.

Other factors not satisfactorally accounted for which affect aid eligibility include part- vs. full-time status, the tuition costs involved, and the number of siblings who are dependent and/or in school. The dependent variables, state aid, federal aid or aid from either source are simply the presence or absence of aid dollars, and not a more sensitive measure of the actual amount of aid the student is receiving. At best, then, these models are simply descriptive or correlational in nature and indicate how aid is being apportioned by independent variables such as college type and race.

The presence of aid from either federal or state sources was related to race and college type, and an additive model was retained. The model estimates are shown in Table 98. As expected, blacks and Hispanics are more likely to report receiving aid for all college types. What is perhaps surprising, however, is that the Hispanic students are receiving aid at such a lower rate than black students, despite the fact that the income profile for this group in the public school sample is somewhat lower than its black counterpart. This may be due to the findings shown in Part I of this chapter which suggest that Hispanic students are the least likely to know about the types of financial aid available. The other clear finding from this table is that students enrolled in four-year institutions are more likely to receive aid than students in two year institutions.

TABLE 98

MODEL ESTIMATES FOR THE PROPORTION OF STUDENTS REPORTING RECEIVING STATE OR FEDERAL AID OR BOTH BY RACE AND COLLEGE TYPE (N=436)

	Trade School	Two-Year College	Four-year College
Black	.62	.67	.81
Hispanic	.47	.51	.69
White	.34	.38	.56
Model Fit=1.80, df=4			

The aid variable was next examined in separate analyses in terms of the reported presence or absence of federal aid. For those students reporting federal aid, race was highly significant, and the college type variable dropped from the model. Table 99 indicates that for the present sample, about two thirds of the students are estimated to receive some federal aid, while only about a quarter of the white students receive aid. A disproportionately small number of Hispanics are receiving federal aid, given that this group reports the lowest income profile of the three racial groups.

For presence of State of Illinois aid, no statistically satisfactory model was found. Therefore, no models are reported for state aid. Interestingly, however, the college type variable was a highly significant predictor of state aid, while race was not. This accounts for both race and college type as significant effects in the model reported in Table 98. The implication here is that state

TABLE 99

MODEL ESTIMATES FOR THE PROPORTION OF STUDENTS REPORTING RECEIVING FEDERAL AID BY RACE (N=446)

Black	.67
Hispanic	.41
White	.26

Model Fit=4.17, df=6

and federal aid awards are based on differing policies, as indicated by their differing correlates. In any case, in the present sample, state assistance appears to be heavily weighted toward students in four-year colleges. Only 9% of those in trade schools and 10% of those in two-year institutions report receiving state aid, while 36% of those students in four-year colleges report receiving some state assistance.

College Dropout

A final set of analyses attempted to identify those factors related to dropping out of college. Initial models fit for those reporting college attendance found no significant differences in dropout rates for the three racial or three income groups. The somewhat lower dropout rate for white students reported in Part I of this chapter is not statistically significant, given the small sample numbers used for this analysis. Overall, about 13% of those attending college since 1980 report dropping out.

A subsequent model fit parental education, type of college attended, and application to college during senior year (and all interactions) as independent variables. Parental education was hypothesized to function as an indicator of family influence to persist in college. Application during the senior year has already been hypothesized as indicative of some longer term planning for a college education. Perhaps those students who entered post-secondary institutions without applying during their senior year are more likely to withdraw from college. This was not the case, as neither application during senior year, nor parental education was significantly related to college dropout.

Type of college attended, however, is a highly significant correlate for the present sample of seniors. Table 100 shows model estimates indicating that about 30% of the students in trade schools and two year institutions have dropped out, but only about 5% of those students attending four-year colleges have dropped out.

The obvious substantive conclusion is that students at four-year colleges are more persistent, at least in their first two

TABLE 100

MODEL ESTIMATES FOR THE PROPORTION OF STUDENTS DROPPING OUT OF COLLEGE BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED (N=229)

Trade School	.28
Two-year College	.30
Four-year college	.05

Model Fit=8.67, df=9

years, although the precise reasons behind this are not clear. This strongly supports the findings on transfers and graduation levels in Chapters 8 and 13. The first part of this chapter recounts student reports of reasons for dropping out. Interestingly, the family income variable was not a significant predictor of dropout, indicating that students at all three income levels are about equally likely to withdraw. This does not, however, show conclusively that the financial status of the student does not affect college withdrawal. It is possible that college type is functioning as a surrogate variable for academic preparedness. This hypothesis is not directly testable, however, for the current data set. Data in Chapter 13, however, show a definite relation between income and college type.

Summary

As in any research, conclusions should be considered with with some knowledge of the variables and effects not accounted for. However, the statistical techniques applied in the second part of this chapter provide some assurance that the relationships observed are true for the population of high school graduates represented by the High School and Beyond 1980 public school sample for Illinois. With this in mind, the modeling approach applied in this chapter has turned up some important results.

A large number of students attend a post-secondary institution within two years of completing high school. For the present sample of public high school persisters, about 84% reported attending some post-secondary institution. About 1/3 of those students reported that they had not applied to college during their senior year in high school. Clearly, for these students, their choice of institutions is severely restricted if they wish to enter a college within their first year of completing high school. Most four year institutions require college entrance exam scores and long lead times to process admissions and financial aid applications and other credentials prior to making admission decisions. Students not applying during their senior years are substantially less likely to attend four-year colleges.

Those students who do apply to college during their senior year are more likely to have at least one parent with two or more years of college. Students in this sample applying during their senior year were about equally likely to come from any income level or racial group.

Black and Hispanic high school graduates are more likely than their white counterparts to report attendance to some post-secondary institution. In addition, there is a clear trend by income group for all three races. Lower income students, regardless of race, are less likely to attend college than upper income students. This may be particularly important considering race and income were not closely related to college application during the senior year.

The receipt of financial aid from either state or federal sources is related to the type of college attended and race. When aid sources were examined separately, State of Illinois aid was found to be closely related to type of college attended. More students attending four-year schools reported receiving state aid.

Finally, college attrition was not, in the present sample, directly related to race, income, level of parental education, or application to college during the senior year. However, a strong relationship was found between college attrition and type of post-secondary institution attended. Trade schools and two-year college attrition rates are about six times higher than four-year college rates. The precise determinants of such differing attrition rates are not known, but the results shown in Table 93 of Part I suggest that the reasons may be due more to unclear career goals and lack of interest in the chosen program rather than the variables tested here.

CHAPTER 10
CHANNELING

District and Metropolitan Area Channeling

Channeling is the act of moving or directing something through a course or passage. This section looks at the channeling of Chicago high school graduates to some colleges rather than others. This chapter shows that where you live in the city is very strongly related to what kind of college you attend. For example, a high school student living in a predominantly minority neighborhood is much more likely to attend a community college than another student living in a predominantly white neighborhood. The second student, on the other hand, is more likely to attend a private college or a four-year public college than the black student. Moreover, even if both students decide to attend community colleges, the black student would be more likely to attend a predominantly minority community college.

Channeling of high school students to particular colleges cannot be measured directly because most public high schools do not keep accurate records of which colleges their high school graduates attend. Rather, channeling can only be analyzed by the use of other data. The data used for this section comes from the Illinois State Scholarship Commission (ISSC) reports from the 1981 - 1982 school year.

When an individual obtains an Illinois state scholarship, she/he furnishes the Commission with certain information including her/his address. From the ISSC's information about where Illinois college students live, one can calculate where students receiving state grants and attending any particular college live and which colleges students from any particular zipcode district attend. By looking at where students from each Chicago college come from and which colleges students from any particular zipcode attend, channeling in Chicago can be measured.

One problem with this data is that not all students attending colleges in Illinois receive Illinois state scholarships. However, the percentages are substantial. In 1982, 44% of all students in Illinois colleges received aid from the state scholarship program, and the percentage was significantly higher among minority students

(See Chapter 13). Thus the data on which this chapter is based covers a large fraction of the total student body. There is no way to know, of course, whether or not the students receiving aid have enrollment patterns similar to the total student body. One important check on the accuracy of this data was available, however, and that tended to support the general findings for the sources of the Chicago community college system. The system's own data, taken from its file of student addresses, shows the same pattern of geographic concentration in its student bodies.

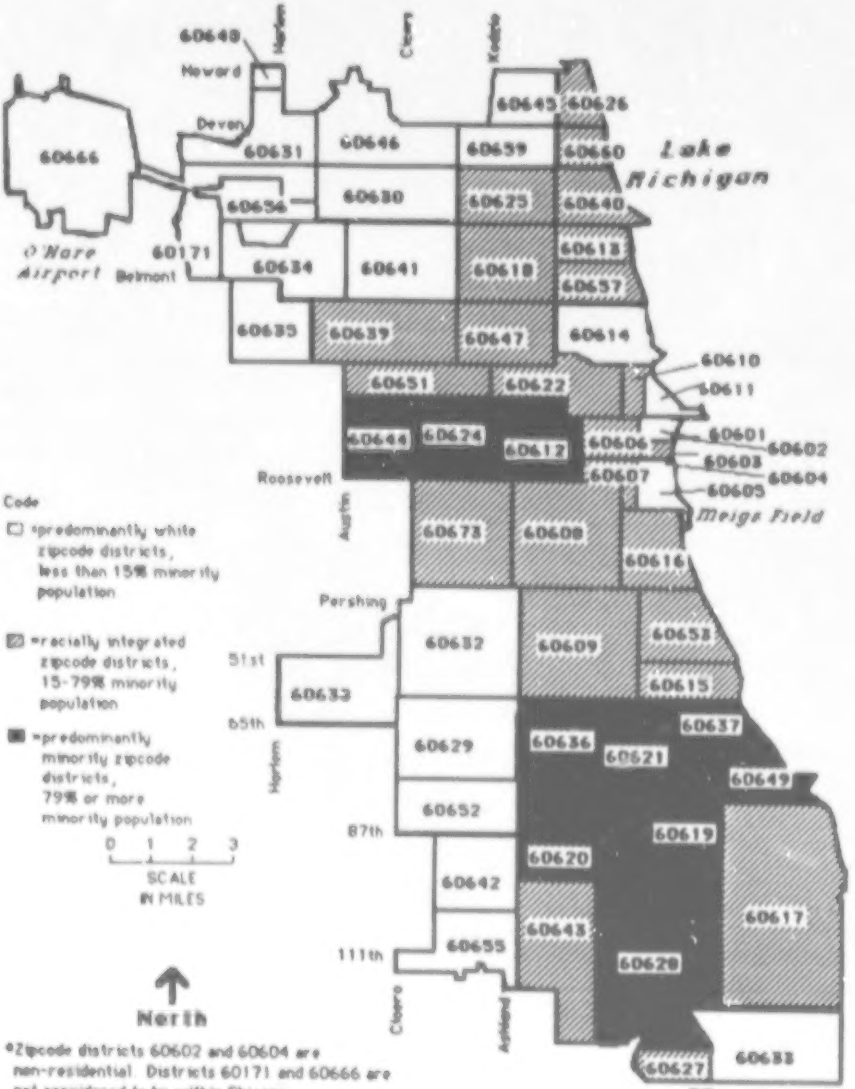
There is one other limitation in the data used in this section. Zipcode areas rather than smaller areas are the units of analysis. Zipcodes are looked at to determine which type of Chicago college students living in different neighborhoods in the city attend.

There are 55 zipcodes in Chicago with an average population of 55,000. Twenty of these zipcodes have a minority population of less than 15%; these are considered predominantly white zipcode districts. Twenty-three have a minority population of 15% to 80%; these are racially integrated zipcode districts. And 12 have a minority population that exceeds 80%; these are considered predominantly minority zipcode districts (see Map 1). A given zipcode can consist of several neighborhoods. The 60637 zipcode, for example, has a small area that is racially mixed, while the rest of this zipcode is mostly black. When analyzing the data for this district channeling, all one knows is that the racial composition of 60637 is 87% minority. In effect, data on the small integrated neighborhood is hidden by data on the larger, predominantly black neighborhoods. Segregation in Chicago covers such large areas, however, that most zipcodes have a clear racial identity.

The two types of channeling that are discussed in this section are zipcode district channeling within Chicago and metropolitan channeling. To measure district channeling, the origin of the student bodies of the three different types of Chicago colleges will be compared. The student body of the Chicago community college system will be looked at in detail. Comparisons will be made between the student bodies of the four Chicago community colleges with the highest percentage of minority students and the three Chicago community colleges with the lowest percentage of minority students.

The four Chicago community colleges with the highest percentage of minority students are Olive-Harvey, Kennedy-King, Malcolm X, and Loop Colleges. The student bodies of these colleges are on average 83% minority. Truman, Daley and Wilbur Wright are the Chicago

Map 1
Racial Composition of Individual Zipcode Districts in Chicago*


60640
Harlem
Cicero
Kedzie
Howard
Devon
60645
60626
60631
60646
60659
60660
60666
Lake Michigan
60656
60630
60625
60640
O'Hare Airport
60171
Belmont
60634
60641
60618
60613
60657
60635
60639
60647
60614
60610
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60616
Code
☐ =predominantly white zipcode districts, less than 15% minority population
▨ =racially integrated zipcode districts, 15-79% minority population
■ =predominantly minority zipcode districts, 79% or more minority population
Pershing
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State
Stony Island
State Line

*Zipcode districts 60602 and 60604 are non-residential. Districts 60171 and 60666 are not considered to be within Chicago.

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community colleges with the lowest percentage of minority students. The average minority population of these colleges is 22%. Olive-Harvey, Kennedy-King, Malcolm X, and Loop Colleges are referred to as the minority Chicago community colleges. On the other hand, Truman, Daley, and Wilbur Wright will be called the white Chicago community colleges. City-wide is not included in this analysis because of its much older student body and very small number of degree candidates.

One of the hypotheses in this section is that district channeling to Chicago community colleges occurs according to the racial composition of zipcode districts. One expects to find that college bound students from the predominantly minority zipcode districts in Chicago will be more likely to attend a Chicago community college than a four-year public Chicago college or a private Chicago college. Conversely, students from predominantly white zipcode districts in Chicago will be more likely to attend a Chicago four-year public or private Chicago college than a Chicago community college.

A second hypothesis is the existence of district channeling within the Chicago community college system by the racial composition of zipcode districts. One expects that students from predominantly minority districts in Chicago will be more likely to attend minority Chicago community colleges than white Chicago community colleges. In contrast, students from predominantly white zipcode districts in Chicago will be more likely to attend white Chicago community colleges than minority Chicago community colleges.

The third hypothesis of this section is the occurence of Chicago metropolitan area channeling to Chicago community colleges. According to this hypothesis one would expect to find that a much smaller percentage of Chicago community colleges' students than Chicago four-year public or private colleges' students live outside the city.

Evidence of Channeling

From the data one discovers district channeling to Chicago community colleges. Zipcode district channeling to Chicago community colleges can be seen in the percentage of a college's student body which comes from a few zipcode districts. Colleges with a very high percentage of students from a few districts are channeling colleges. These colleges obtain most of their students from a few particular zipcode districts. The zipcode districts which comprise a large percentage of any particular college's student body will be referred to as that college's feeder districts. The pattern of enrollment in these colleges strengthen the educational separation between parts of Chicago.

District channeling to Chicago community colleges within the city of Chicago can also be shown by a high ratio of students from a given zipcode district who attend Chicago community colleges rather than four-year public or private Chicago colleges. Districts which send very large numbers of students to community colleges and very small numbers of students to Chicago private colleges are involved in channeling to community colleges, for not many students in these districts have a private colleges option.

Evidence of District Channeling

District level channeling to Chicago community colleges occurs within the city of Chicago. The percentage of a Chicago community college's student body which live in the ten zipcode districts contributing the largest number of students to that college is greater than the percentage of students a Chicago private college's or a Chicago four-year public college's ten feeder districts contribute to that college's student body (see Table 101).

TABLE 101

PERCENT OF CHICAGO STUDENTS FROM THE ZIPCODE DISTRICTS CONTRIBUTING THE GREATEST NUMBER OF CHICAGO STUDENTS

	Chicago community colleges	Chicago four-year public colleges	Chicago private colleges
Percent Minority	54	32	22
Percent of Illinois State Scholarship Students			
5 districts	51	30	14
10 districts	75	48	21

Chicago community colleges' students are much more geographically concentrated than Chicago four-year public or private colleges. These community colleges are simply a higher educational extension of local high schools. On the average, the number of students who live in ten feeder districts comprise 75% of a Chicago community college's student body. This compares with the fact that the ten largest student contributing districts account for only 21% of a Chicago private college's student body and only 48% of a Chicago four-year public college's student body (See Table 101.). The percentage of a Chicago community college's student body made up of students from that college's ten feeder districts (the ten districts that contribute the largest number of students to that college) is almost four times the percentage of a Chicago private college's or a Chicago four-year public college's student body comprised by students from that college's ten highest student contributing districts.

TABLE 102

PERCENTAGE OF A COLLEGE'S CHICAGO STUDENTS FROM THE 10 ZIPCODE DISTRICTS SENDING THE GREATEST NUMBER OF CHICAGO STUDENTS

Cum. Total, Top Districts	Chicago Community Colleges						
	Kennedy King	Olive Harvey	Malcolm X	Loop	Truman	Wilbur Wright	Daley
10	87%	93%	68%	56%	74%	74%	82%
9	83	89	65	49	70	71	78
8	78	85	62	46	67	67	74
7	72	81	58	41	63	63	69
6	65	76	53	36	58	58	63
5	58	69	48	31	53	52	56
4	50	60	42	25	47	45	48
3	40	50	34	19	40	38	37
2	29	41	24	13	33	30	26
1	18	27	13	7	25	15	14

Looking at the number of students in districts who attend Chicago community colleges as compared with the number of students who attend private Chicago colleges and four-year public Chicago colleges also confirms the existence of district channeling in Chicago. The ratio of these two numbers varies greatly in different districts. The first group of districts, five in all, sends a small number of students to private colleges and a large number of students to community colleges and four-year public colleges. On the average, a Chicago community college or a four year public Chicago college receives more than three times as many students from these districts as a private Chicago college receives.

Another group of five districts sends a small number of students to private colleges, a larger number of students to community colleges, and an even larger number of students to four-year public colleges. In these districts, the number of students who attend a Chicago community college is twice the number of students who attend a Chicago private college. Moreover, about three times as many students from these districts attend a Chicago four-year public college as attend a Chicago private college.

The last group of districts, seven in all, contributes equally large numbers of students to private and four-year public Chicago colleges, and small numbers of students to Chicago community colleges. A Chicago community college receives only one seventh as many students from these districts as a Chicago private or four-year public college receives.

The existence of channeling to Chicago community colleges in and of itself is important. However, something more remains to be told. The existence of district channeling says nothing about the character of the districts that play the largest roles in this system. How do these districts differ?

Racial Composition of Districts

The racial composition of feeder districts differs among the three types of Chicago colleges. The Chicago community college system is overwhelmingly dependent on students from minority districts. Only one-third as many Chicago community colleges' feeder districts as Chicago private colleges' feeder districts are predominantly white. Moreover the percentage of a Chicago community college's ten feeder districts that are predominantly minority is 50% more than the percentage of a Chicago private or four-year public college's ten largest feeder districts that are predominantly minority (see Table 103).

TABLE 103

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF 10 FEEDER ZIPCODE DISTRICTS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES, FOUR-YEAR COLLEGES AND PRIVATE COLLEGES

	Type of college		
	Community Colleges	Four-Year Colleges	Private Colleges
% predominantly black districts	53%	33%	34%
% predominantly integrated districts	40%	57%	45%
% predominantly white districts	7%	10%	21%

District channeling can also be seen by the racial composition of districts that show the greatest relative differences among the number of students they send to the three different types of Chicago colleges. The first group of districts with a large difference is predominantly black. The black population of these districts ranges from 97% to 99%. From these districts a Chicago community colleges receive more than three times as many students as private Chicago colleges receive (see Table 104).

TABLE 104

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THREE GROUPS OF ZIPCODE DISTRICTS WHICH SHOW THE GREATEST DIFFERENCES AMONG THE NUMBERS OF STUDENTS THEY SEND TO THE THREE DIFFERENT TYPES OF CHICAGO COLLEGES

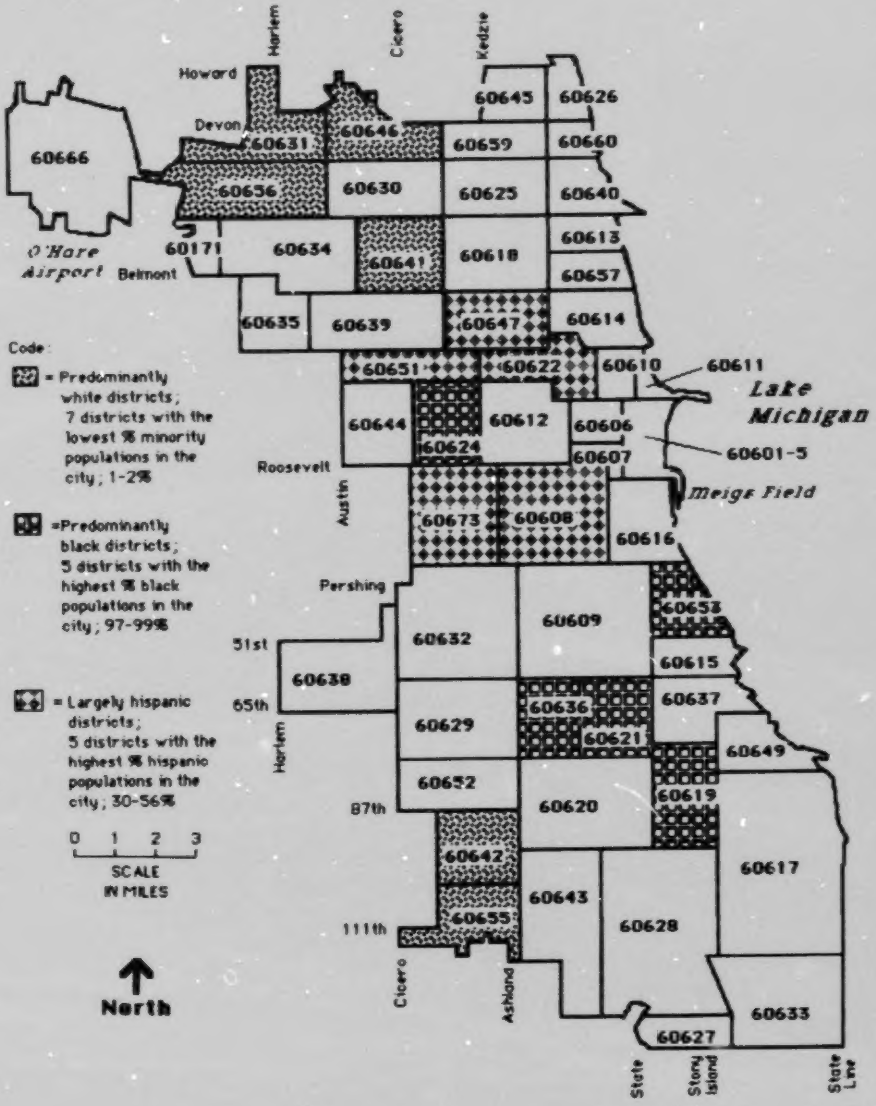
	Type of Districts		
	Predominantly Black	Largely Hispanic	Predominantly White
Avg number of students from these districts for:			
Community Colleges	84	50	2
Four-year public colleges	83	78	14
Private colleges	26	23	2
Racial comp.	97-99% black	30-56% Hispanic	1% minority

The next group of districts with a large difference in the number of students they send to the three types of Chicago colleges is largely Hispanic, 30% to 56%. More than twice as many students from these neighborhoods attend a Chicago community college as attend a Chicago private college.

The last group of districts with a large difference is predominantly white. The minority populations in these districts are less than 2% of the total population. From these districts Chicago private colleges, on the average, receive seven times as many students as Chicago community colleges.

The pattern is obvious. The districts with the highest percentages of minority populations send extremely high percentages of their college bound students to Chicago community colleges rather than to Chicago private colleges, whereas the opposite is the case for the districts with the lowest percentages of minority populations. In the five predominantly black districts and the five largely Hispanic districts, three times and twice as many students, respectively, attend a Chicago community college as attend a Chicago private college. On the other hand, in the seven predominantly white districts, the number of students who attend a Chicago private college is seven times the number who attend a Chicago community college.

Map 2
Three groups of Zipcode Districts in Chicago


Harlem
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60640
O'Hare Airport
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Belmont
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60614
Code:
▨ = Predominantly white districts; 7 districts with the lowest % minority populations in the city; 1-2%
▦ = Predominantly black districts; 5 districts with the highest % black populations in the city; 97-99%
◈ = Largely hispanic districts; 5 districts with the highest % hispanic populations in the city; 30-56%
60651
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Cicero
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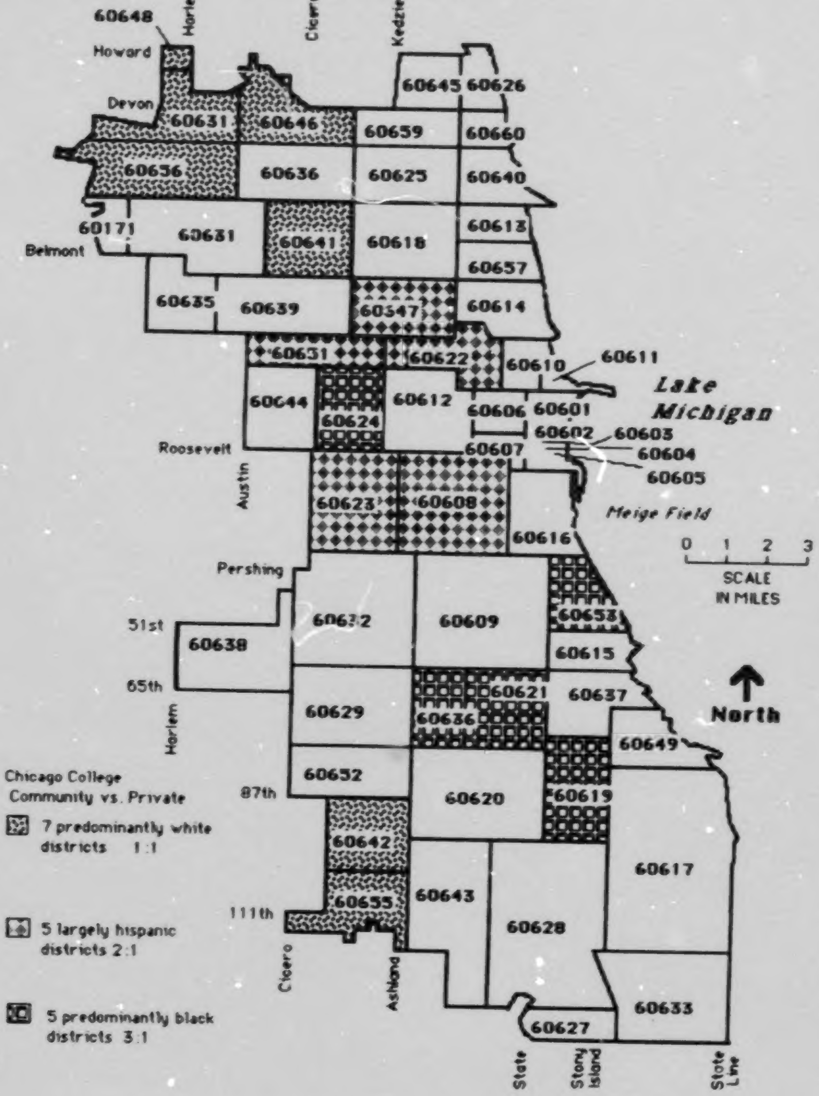
Map 3:
Ratios of the Number of Students from a Zipcode District Attending a Chicago Community College to the Number Attending a Chicago Private College in the 7 Predominantly White; 5 Largely Hispanic and 5 Predominantly Black Zipcode Districts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Chicago College Community vs. Private
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7 predominantly white districts 1:1
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111th
5 largely hispanic districts 2:1
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5 predominantly black districts 3:1
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State
Stony Island
State Line

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TABLE 105

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF FIVE LEADING FEEDER DISTRICTS

	Type of college		
	Community Colleges	Four-Year Colleges	Private Colleges
% predominantly black districts	58	33	36
% predominantly integrated districts	40	67	46
% predominantly white districts	2	0	18

Channeling within Chicago Community Colleges

Channeling by the racial composition of districts also occurs within the Chicago community college system. One way to determine if channeling exists within the Chicago community college system is to look at the racial composition of districts that feed the minority community colleges and compare these districts to the districts that are the greatest student contributors to the white community colleges.

Of the districts that feed the minority Chicago community colleges, 73% are predominantly minority districts. In contrast, of the districts that supply the largest number of students to the white Chicago community colleges, only 20% are predominantly minority districts. Thus the percentage of the feeder districts of the four minority Chicago community colleges that are predominantly minority is almost four times the percentage of the feeder districts of the three white Chicago community colleges that are predominantly minority. Moreover, while none of the forty feeder districts of the four minority Chicago community colleges is predominantly white, 20% of the thirty feeder districts of the three white Chicago community colleges are predominantly white (see Table 106).

Another way to observe channeling within the Chicago community college system by the racial composition of districts in Chicago is to compare which community colleges students from predominantly minority districts attend as opposed to the community colleges that students from predominantly white districts attend. The first group of districts consists of five districts that are 97% to 99% black. On the average, any of the four minority Chicago community colleges receives six times as many students from these districts as any one of the three white Chicago community colleges receives (see Table 107).

TABLE 106

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF FEEDER NEIGHBORHOODS FOR CHICAGO COMMUNITY COLLEGES

	Minority Comm. Colleges				White Comm. Colleges		
	Kennedy King	Olive Harvey	Malcolm X	Loop	Truman	Wilbur Wright	Daley
% minority enrollment	93	93	91	61	26	21	21
Avg. % minority enrollment			83			22	
% minority in feeder districts			73			20	
% integ. in feeder districts			27			60	
% white in feeder districts			0			20	

TABLE 107

WHICH CHICAGO COMMUNITY COLLEGES STUDENTS FROM PREDOMINANTLY MINORITY DISTRICTS AS OPPOSED TO STUDENTS FROM PREDOMINANTLY WHITE DISTRICTS ATTEND

	Average Number of Students Received by	
Districts Predominantly	Four Minority Chicago Community Colleges	Three White Chicago Community Colleges
Black	148	25
White	0	7
Hispanic*	95	61

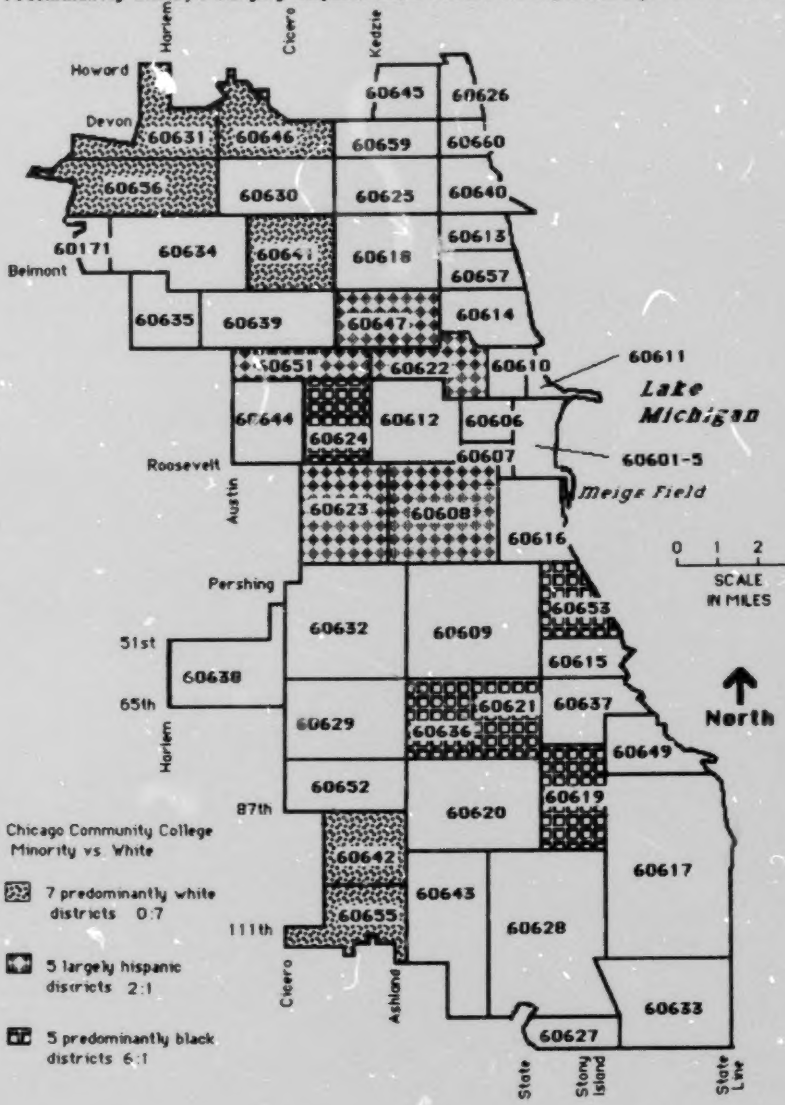
Note: (*)The average of the minority college case for Hispanic districts is taken over just two colleges: Malcolm X (91% minority) and Loop (61%).

The difference are smaller but still significant among the Chicago community colleges that students from largely Hispanic districts attend. Students from the largely Hispanic districts mostly attend only two of the four minority Chicago community colleges, Malcolm X and Loop Colleges. This contrasts with the students from the five predominantly black districts, who attend the four minority Chicago community colleges fairly equally. On the average, Malcolm X or Loop college receives one and a half times as many students from the largely Hispanic districts as a Chicago private college receives.

The last group, the predominantly white districts with from 1% to 2% minority residents, shows strong channeling. Seven times as

Map 4:

Ratios of the Number of Students from a Zipcode District Attending a Minority Chicago Community College to the Number Attending a White Chicago Community College in the 7 Predominantly White; 5 Largely Hispanic and 5 Predominantly Black Zipcode Districts


Harlem
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Chicago Community College Minority vs. White
7 predominantly white districts 0:7
5 largely hispanic districts 2:1
5 predominantly black districts 6:1

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TABLE 108

PERCENT OF MINORITY AND WHITE CHICAGO COMMUNITY COLLEGES COMPRISED OF STUDENTS FROM THE PREDOMINANTLY WHITE AND PREDOMINANTLY MINORITY AREAS OF THE CITY

	Percent of Minority Chicago Community Colleges	Percent of White Chicago Community Colleges
Predominantly minority areas of Chicago	91	35
Predominantly white areas of Chicago	8	64
All of Chicago	99	99

many students from these districts attend one of the three white Chicago community colleges as attend one of the four minority Chicago community colleges.

Chicago Metropolitan Area Channeling

The data also show channeling between the city and the suburbs. Channeling within the Chicago metropolitan area can be seen by the percentage of students attending the three different types of Chicago colleges who reside outside the city limits. Colleges which receive almost all of their students from districts within the city are in a broad sense channeling colleges. These colleges unintentionally maintain the separation between Chicago high school graduates and high school graduates from outside the city.

The data confirm that Chicago community colleges maintain channeling in the Chicago metropolitan area. A much smaller percentage of the total state enrollment in Chicago community colleges than in Chicago private or four-year public colleges live outside Chicago. The percentage of Illinois students who do not live in Chicago and who attend Chicago community colleges is less than 1%, while 11% of Chicago four-year public colleges' students and 56% of Chicago private colleges' students live outside Chicago. Thus the percentage of Chicago private colleges' students that are not from Chicago is fifty six times the percentage of Chicago community colleges' students who do not reside in Chicago.

Summary

The existence of district channeling to Chicago community colleges is established by the large percentage of a Chicago community college's student body (75%) that is comprised of students from a few zipcode districts. Moreover, the great differences among the type of Chicago colleges students from different districts in Chicago attend adds further proof to the existence of district channeling to Chicago community colleges.

It becomes apparent that zipcode district channeling to Chicago community colleges does not occur randomly, but rather depends on the racial composition of these zipcode districts. This can be verified by looking at the racial composition of the districts which contribute the most students to a particular Chicago community college. A greater percentage of the districts which feed Chicago community colleges than the districts which feed private Chicago colleges are predominantly minority.

One can also verify the existence of district channeling to Chicago community colleges (according to the racial composition of districts) by comparing which types of Chicago colleges students from predominantly minority and predominantly white districts attend. As expected, a Chicago community college receives three times and twice as many students from predominantly black and Hispanic districts, respectively, as a Chicago private college receives. Similarly, on the average, a Chicago private college receives seven times as many students from a predominantly white district as a Chicago community college receives.

Furthermore, channeling by the racial composition of districts even exists within the Chicago community college system. Of those students who attend Chicago community colleges, students from predominantly minority districts are more likely to attend the Chicago community colleges with the highest percentage of minority students. On the other hand, students from predominantly white districts are more likely to attend the Chicago community colleges with lowest percentage of minority students.

Lastly, one also finds evidence of Chicago metropolitan area channeling to Chicago community colleges by the very low percentage, 1%, of students living outside the city who attend Chicago community colleges. In contrast, 11% of Chicago's four-year public colleges' students and 56% of Chicago's private colleges' students live outside Chicago proper.

Area Channeling

Thus far the data confirm that channeling by zipcode districts occurs within the city of Chicago and the metropolitan area. The next stage of the analysis examines whether channeling to Chicago community colleges and within the Chicago Community college system also occurs by areas of the city.

The data affirm that high school students living in the predominantly minority areas of Chicago will be much less likely to see Chicago private and four-year public colleges as an option than the high school students living in the predominantly white areas of Chicago. Moreover, of the students in Chicago planning to attend a Chicago community college, a much larger percentage from the South and West sides of Chicago than from the North and Southwest sides will attend minority Chicago community colleges. Collegebound students living in these minority areas of the city follow along on these paths and so maintain the geographic and racial filters in Chicago's system of higher education.

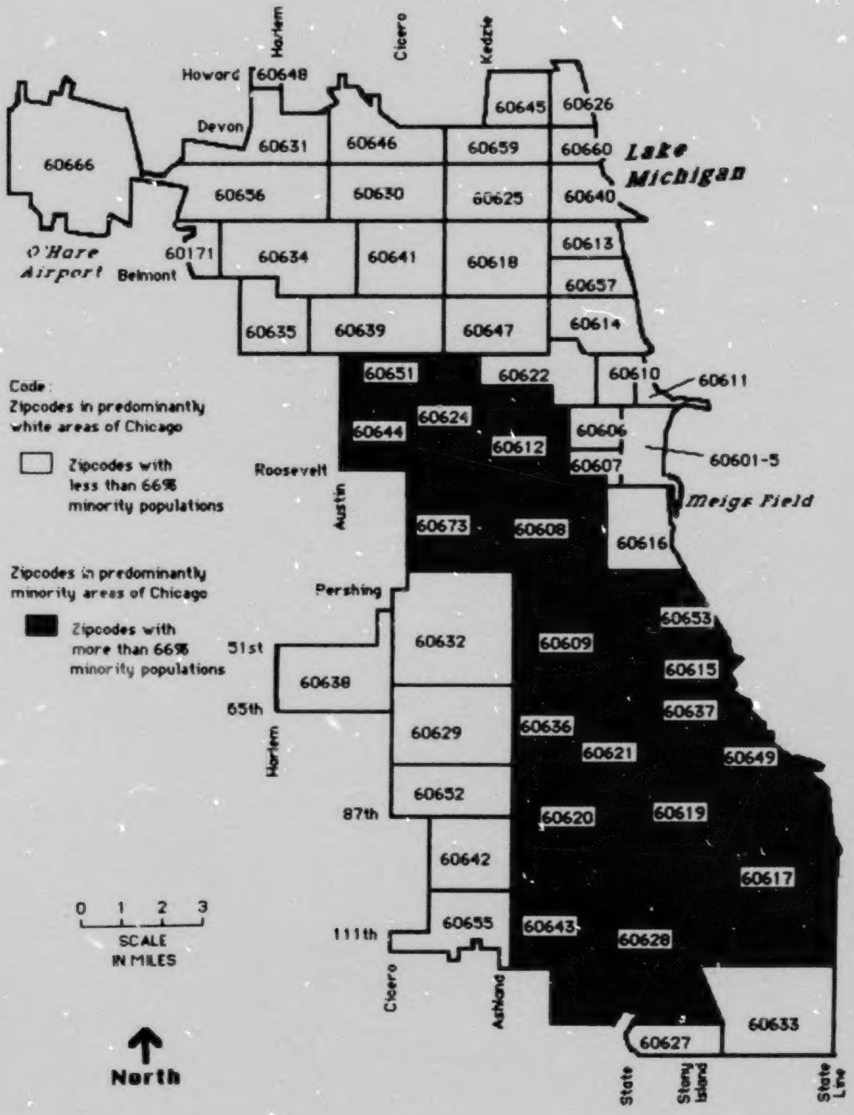
For the purpose of this analysis the areas of Chicago that are predominantly minority areas are the South and West sides of Chicago. These areas, with more than two-thirds minority population, comprise the shaded parts of map 5. Eighty-seven percent of the individuals living in these areas are black or Hispanic. Only 47% of all Chicago residents live in the South or West sides of Chicago. The minority people living in these areas comprise 78% of the total minority population of Chicago. The percentage of Chicago's total black population living in this area, 91%, is much higher than the percentage of the total Chicago Hispanic population living in this area, 63%.

Signs of Area Channeling

Area channeling to Chicago community colleges can be seen by comparing the percentage of Chicago community college students and the percentage of Chicago four-year public and private college students who come from predominantly minority areas of the city.

Once again the data shows channnelling. The very large percentage of Chicago community college students who live in the predominantly minority areas of the city and the small percentage of Chicago four-year public and private college students who come from these predominantly minority areas confirm the occurrence of area channeling to the Chicago community college system. Students from the South and West sides of Chicago comprise 70% of the Chicago community college system's student body, 48% of the Chicago four-year public college system and only 19% of the total Chicago private colleges' student body. Thus the percentage of the Chicago community colleges' student body that students from the South and West sides of Chicago make up is almost four times the percentage of the total Chicago private colleges' student body that students from these predominantly minority areas comprise.

Map 5: Predominantly Minority and White Areas of Chicago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Stony Island
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Code:
Zipcodes in predominantly white areas of Chicago
Zipcodes with less than 66% minority populations
Zipcodes in predominantly minority areas of Chicago
Zipcodes with more than 66% minority populations

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In contrast, students from the predominantly white areas of Chicago account for almost equal percentages of the Chicago community colleges' student population and the Chicago private colleges' student body. Students from the North and Southwest sides of the city comprise 30% of the Chicago community college system, 42% of the Chicago four-year public colleges' student body and 26% of the Chicago private colleges' student body. Moreover, while the population of the South and West sides constitutes only 47% of Chicago's total population, students from these predominantly minority areas make up 70% of the Chicago community colleges' student body. On the other hand, students living in the predominantly white areas of Chicago comprise only 29% of the Chicago community colleges' student body even though the population of these predominantly white areas adds up to 53% of Chicago's total population.

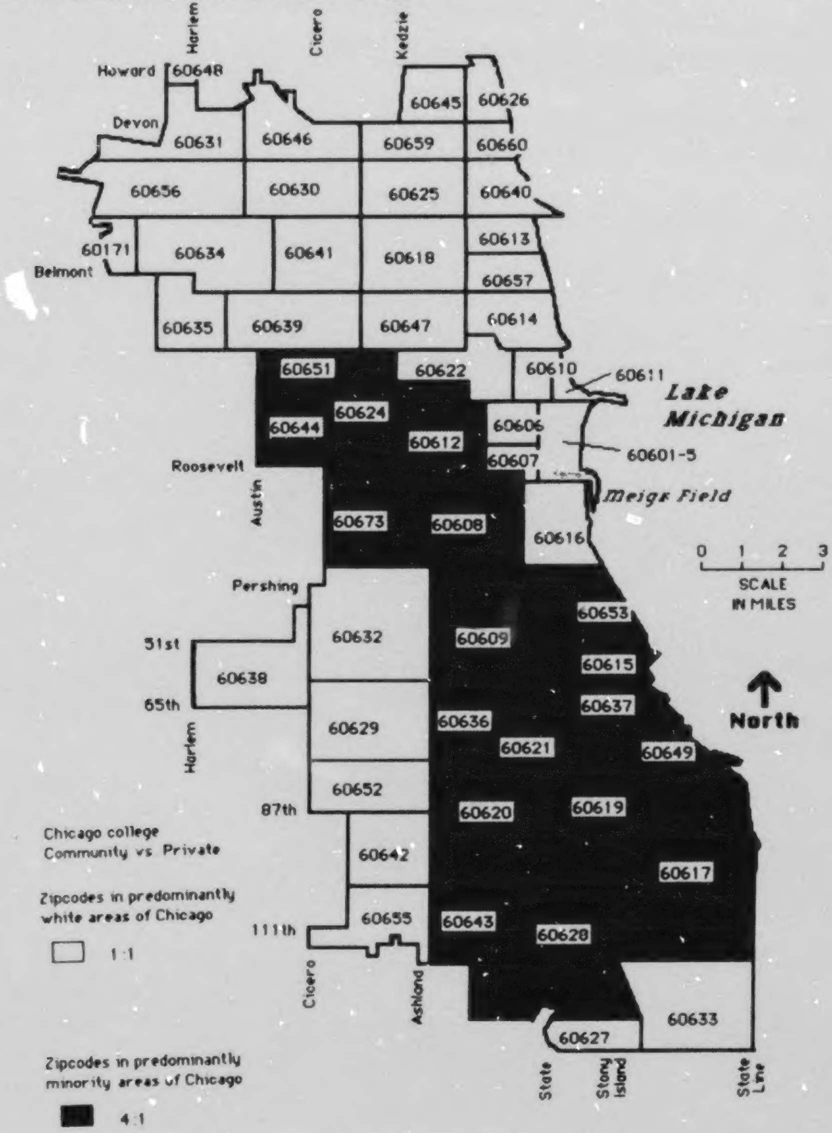
The number of students from predominantly minority areas who attend Chicago community colleges is much greater than the number of students from predominantly white areas who attend Chicago community colleges. The number of students from the South and West sides who attend a Chicago community college is almost three times the number of students who attend a Chicago community college from the North and Southwest sides. Looking at the ratio between the number of students who attend Chicago community colleges and the number of students who attend four-year public and private Chicago colleges in different parts of the city also confirms the existence of area channeling to Chicago community colleges. The ratio of the number of students from the South and West sides of Chicago who attend an average Chicago community college to the number who attend an average private Chicago college is 4:1 (see map 6).

On the other hand, the ratio of the number of students from the North and Southwest sides of Chicago who attend an average Chicago community college to the number who attend an average private Chicago college is 1:1. Thus the predominantly white areas of Chicago send an equal number of students to the average Chicago community college and the average Chicago private college.

Channeling Within the Chicago Community Colleges

As with area channeling to Chicago community colleges, the data strongly affirms the existence of area channeling within the Chicago community college system. Students from the predominantly minority areas of Chicago comprise a much larger relative pecentage of the minority Chicago community colleges and a lower relative pecentage

Map 6:
Ratios of the Number of Students from a Zipcode District Attending a Chicago Community College to the Number Attending a Chicago Private College in the Predominantly minority and the predominantly White Areas of Chicago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SCALE IN MILES
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Chicago college
Community vs Private
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Zipcodes in predominantly white areas of Chicago
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Zipcodes in predominantly minority areas of Chicago
■ 4:1

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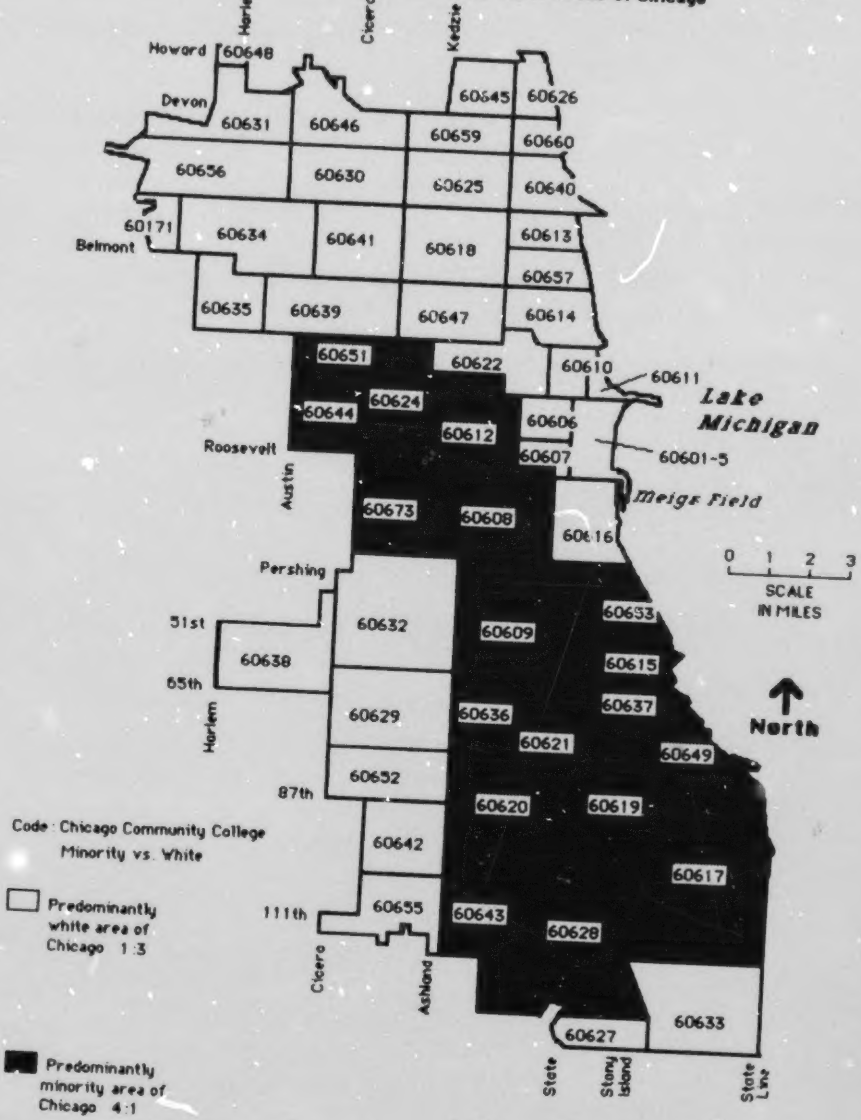
of the white Chicago community colleges than students from the predominantly white areas of Chicago. Eighty-seven percent of the minority Chicago community colleges' students live in the South and West Sides of Chicago while only 34% of the white Chicago community colleges' students live in these predominanlty minority areas. Thus the percentage of the minority Chicago community colleges' students who come from the South and West sides of Chicago is almost three times the percentage of the white Chicago community colleges' students who come from these predominantly minority areas of the city.

The ratio is even more striking for the predominantly white areas of the city. While students from the North and Southwest sides of Chicago account for only 13% of the total minority Chicago community colleges' student body, students from these predominantly white areas comprise 65% of the white Chicago community colleges' student body. Thus the percentage of the white Chicago community colleges' students who live in the North and Southwest sides is 5 times the percentage of the minority Chicago community colleges' students who live in these predominantly white areas.

The ratio of the number of students from an area who attend minority Chicago community colleges to the number who attend white Chicago community colleges further proves the existence of area channeling within the Chicago community college system. The South and West sides of Chicago send a much larger number of students to minority Chicago community colleges than to white Chicago community colleges. On the other hand, the North and Southwest sides of Chicago send a much smaller number of students to minority community colleges than to white Chicago community colleges.

The ratio of the number of students from the South and West sides, the predominantly minority areas of Chicago, who attend a minority Chicago community college to the number who attend a white Chicago community college is 4:1. Thus the predominantly minority areas of Chicago send four times as many students to an average minority Chicago community college than to a white Chicago community college. Almost the exact opposite is true for the predominantly white areas of Chicago. The ratio of the number of students from the North and Southwest sides of Chicago who attend a minority Chicago community college to the number who attend a white Chicago community college is 1:3. Thus the North and Southwest sides of Chicago send to a white Chicago community college three times the number of students they send to a minority Chicago community college.

Map 7:
Ratios of the Number of Students from a Zipcode District Attending a Minority Chicago Community College to the Number Attending a White Chicago Community College in the Predominantly Minority and the Predominantly White Areas of Chicago


Harlem
Cicero
Kedzie
Howard
Devon
Belmont
Roosevelt
Austin
Pershing
51st
65th
Harlem
87th
111th
Cicero
Ashland
State
Stony Island
State Line
60648
60645
60626
60631
60646
60659
60660
60656
60630
60625
60640
60171
60634
60641
60618
60613
60657
60635
60639
60647
60614
60651
60622
60610
60611
60644
60624
60612
60606
60607
60601-5
60673
60608
60616
60632
60609
60653
60638
60615
60629
60636
60637
60621
60649
60652
60620
60619
60642
60617
60655
60643
60628
60627
60633
Lake Michigan
Meigs Field
0 1 2 3
SCALE IN MILES
North
Code: Chicago Community College
Minority vs. White
☐ Predominantly white area of Chicago 1:3
■ Predominantly minority area of Chicago 4:1

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Summary

The data for this section strongly confirm the existence of area channeling to Chicago community colleges according to the racial composition of areas of the city. While the predominantly minority areas of Chicago comprise about the same percentage of the total Chicago population as the predominantly white areas of the city, students from these areas constitute unequal percentages of the three types of Chicago colleges.Students from the South and West sides of Chicago comprise 70% of the student body of the Chicago community college system and only 19% of the student body of all private Chicago colleges. On the other hand, students from the North and Southwest sides account for 29% of the Chicago community college system and 26% of the student body of all private Chicago colleges.

Moreover, there exists a great difference between the ratios of the number of students the predominantly white and the predominantly minority areas of the city send to a Chicago community college as compared to the number they send to private Chicago colleges. The South and West sides of Chicago send four times as many students to Chicago community colleges as they send to private Chicago colleges. Thus the ratio is 4:1. The predominantly white areas of the city, the North and Southwest sides, send equal numbers of students to a Chicago community college and to private Chicago colleges. Thus the ratio is 1:1.

The data for this section also affirm the occurrence of area channeling within the Chicago community college system by the racial composition of areas of the city. The predominantly minority areas of Chicago account for a much larger pecentage of the students who attend the minority Chicago community colleges and a much smaller percentage of the student body of the white Chicago community colleges than the predominantly white areas of the city. Students from the South and West sides comprise 87% of the minority Chicago community college systems' student body as opposed to only 34% of the of the students who attend the white Chicago community colleges. On the other hand, students from the North and Southwest sides make up 13% of the students attending predominantly minority Chicago community colleges and 65% of the student body of the white Chicago community colleges.

Channeling and Community College Data

This chapter relies very largely on Illinois State Scholarship data to assess residential feeder patterns into various types of colleges and individual schools from geographic areas of the city. This is apparently the only source of such data dealing with all colleges. More comprehensive data are, however, available from the Chicago City Colleges about the origin of their students, whether or not they are receiving scholarships. These data are important because many students at community colleges do not receive state assistance; in fact, they are considerably less likely to receive aid than students at four-year institutions.

The data show that, on the average, 61% of a community college's students come from just five of the city's 55 zipcode areas and this number reaches 80% in the case of the college with the most limited and rigidly defined drawing area, Olive Harvey, a black South Side institution. Truman and Wright, both predominantly white, draw about two-thirds of their students from one-eleventh of the city's districts.

TABLE 109

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF 10 FEEDING DISTRICTS OF CHICAGO COMMUNITY COLLEGES

	Community Colleges	
	Minority	White
Average % minority enrollment	83%	22%
% minority feeding district	60%	10%
% integrated feeding district	40%	53%
% white feeding district	0%	37%

Note: This is direct data obtained from the seven Chicago Community Colleges.

Source: Chicago Community Colleges.

The city college data show that when non-scholarship students are included the pattern of channeling is even more extreme. The Scholarship Commission data showed that 75% of the students attending a typical community college within the city came from just 10 zipcode districts. The city college data shows that 89% of the total enrollment comes from 10 districts (see Table 110).

The city data also document racial channeling in a more extreme form than the ISSC data. There are six times as many predominantly minority as predominantly white zipcode areas feeding the minority community colleges. In a city without many predominantly white

TABLE 110

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS FROM THE FEEDING DISTRICTS OF THE SEVEN CHICAGO COMMUNITY COLLEGES, 1982-83

	Chicago Community Colleges						
Top Districts	Kennedy-King	Olive Harvey	Malcolm X	Loop	Truman	Wilbur Wright	Daley
10	90	100	82	83	91	91	87
9	86	97	79	77	87	87	83
8	81	94	74	70	82	83	77
7	76	91	70	64	77	78	70
6	68	87	65	57	71	73	62
5	59	80	58	48	65	66	54
4	50	69	51	39	56	58	44
3	41	59	40	30	50	47	35
2	30	47	28	21	39	35	24
1	16	27	15	11	27	22	13

Source: Chicago City Colleges.

zipcode areas the white community colleges rely on these areas for 37% of their primary feeders, in contrast to the 20% figure derived from the ISSC data.

Conclusions

Before concluding this chapter, it's worthwhile to look once again at the difficulties various types of channeling for inner-city minority students. Students from black and Latino neighborhoods go to the less selective Chicago community colleges rather than private Chicago colleges and to minority Chicago colleges rather than to white Chicago community colleges. In order for an inner-city student to attend a private Chicago college rather than a Chicago community college or a white Chicago community college rather than a minority Chicago community college, she/he must deviate from the path taken by the great majority of his/her fellow students. This is not true for students from predominantly white areas of the city.

The evidence of channeling shows that for students in minority neighborhoods in Chicago the black community colleges serve as segregated neighborhood colleges strongly connected with a system of separate and unequal education that proceeds from elementary school through college. The statistics on transfer and graduation levels for various colleges presented in other chapters in this report clearly show that the colleges serving the minority neighborhoods have low graduation levels and that those students who do transfer tend to transfer to the least selective four-year colleges in metropolitan Chicago.

Students who grow up in white neighborhoods obviously enjoy a much broader range of real choices about college enrollment. They are far more likely to attend private colleges and a great many go to four-year public universities. One of the obvious policy goals suggested by this chapter is the development of programs that would give to students attending schools in Chicago's South and West Sides more of the range of real college alternatives that are available in other parts of the city. Otherwise the higher education system will only tend to reinforce the inequalities that are deeply imbedded in a rigid system of neighborhood and public school segregation.

CHAPTER 11

EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITY AMONG COMMUNITY COLLEGES

This chapter addresses the general question of whether education in public community colleges that operate under a statewide system of planning and coordination differ significantly from each other and from freshman and sophomore education in four-year institutions. Specifically, the chapter investigates the academic programs and courses for students in Chicago metropolitan area community colleges.

Four broad curricular areas are examined: institutional philosophy, academic standards, academic program offerings, and transferability. These areas determine the community college curriculum and provide the framework for the academic emphasis or the occupational orientation of the various educational programs.

Illinois public community colleges operate under the direction of the Illinois Community College Board (ICCB), which serves as a planning-coordinating body. Governance and management responsibility for individual colleges rests with local district boards of trustees. The analysis in this chapter shows that, although Chicago metropolitan area community colleges are theoretically similar to each other and to four-year institutions in providing an entire program of study for freshmen and sophomores, they are actually different. Serious quantitative and qualitative programming differences occur among the community colleges. In some cases, these differences negatively influence the ability to prepare for a four-year degree.

Introduction

The term "curriculum" as defined by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1977, p. xiv) is "the body of courses that present the knowledge, principles, values, and skills that are intended consequences of the formal education offered by a college." This study emphasizes the non-vocational, academic-transfer component of the community college curriculum. Academic-transfer programs constitute the body of courses designed to meet the requirements for the first two years of baccalaureate study. Academic-oriented curricula include programs that offer university-parallel instruction and the appropriate preparatory courses to assist students in developing skills needed to pursue baccalaureate-level instruction.

The academic-transfer component of the community college curriculum is central to the notion of access; it is the essential mechanism by which students enrolled in community college programs may transfer to four-year institutions to complete their baccalaureate programs. Because many Chicago area students choose community colleges en route to obtaining their baccalaureate degrees, it is important to know that community colleges are maintaining programs of study and courses of instruction that are similar, if not equal, to what is being offered at four-year institutions. This transfer function of community colleges is vital; it is both explicit in their mission as colleges and inherent in their roles as higher educational institutions. Since most minority and low income students in the Chicago area who go to college rely on community colleges to prepare them for transfer to a B.A. institution, this mission has great social importance.

The first area to be studied is the institutional philosophy or mission. Philosophy or mission is vital in shaping the curriculum. It directs the training, values, and attitudes of the institution and gives rise to the principles on which the curriculum is based. The second area concerns academic standards for both the institution and its students. Admissions standards, degree designations, and program requirements are the primary indices of academic quality. From these are derived the formulation of goals for program evaluation and the criteria for measuring student success. Next, academic program offerings are examined. These programs are the by-products of the curriculum and represent the coherent and systematic ordering of the curriculum's component parts (the disciplines and subject fields). Last, the transferability of academic programs to four-year institutions is evaluated. Quantitative measures of course-credit transfer, qualitative indications of institutional credibility, and articulation issues are addressed here.

Analysis

Institutional Mission

Institutional mission for the Illinois public community colleges has been set forth by the Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE Master Plan: Phase IV) and by the Illinois Community College Board's "Philosophy and Purposes for the System of Public

Community Colleges of Illinois." Both groups identified the following areas as the basic missions of the comprehensive community college:

1. Provide the first two years of baccalaureate education, consisting of liberal arts, sciences, and preprofessional fields designed to prepare students for transfer to four- year colleges and universities and/or to meet individual educational goals.

2. Provide career education, including occupational, vocational, technical, and semitechnical fields designed to provide job training, retraining, and/or upgrading of skills to meet individual, local, and state manpower needs.

3. Provide general studies, including preparatory or developmental instruction, adult basic education, and general education designed to meet individual educational goals.

4. Provide community education, including noncredit adult continuing education classes, designed to meet individual educational goals.

5. Provide public service activities of an educational nature, which may include workshops, seminars, forums, cultural enrichment, community surveys, facility usage, and studies designed to meet community service needs.

6. Provide student support services that reflect the development and direction of the institution, including, but not limited to, admissions,counseling, testing, tutoring, placement, and special assistance for disadvantaged students.

These six missions, taken together with the work of theorists, are used to analyze the mission statements of the community colleges in this study. Ralph Tyler (1949, p.33) asserts "the educational and social philosophy to which the school is committed can serve as the first screen in [establishing objectives]." Hence, the institutional philosophy indicates to potential students, faculty, and society at large the broad purposes of the college.

Three criteria for evaluating mission statements have been advanced by the Carnegie Foundation (1977, p. 161). According to the Foundation, mission statements should "guide the academic leadership of a college in determining what educational programs are appropriate for accommodation in the institution's curriculum, provide students with information about the institution's intentions so they can compare them with their own interests and needs, and provide the college's governing board, accrediting agencies and others who might have a legitimate reason to evaluate the performance of the college, the criterion by which the institution chooses, at least, in curricular matters to be governed."

Findings

The findings for this and subsequent sections are based on a review of 14 communiy college catalogs published in 1982 and 1983: Chicago City Colleges, College of DuPage, Elgin, Lake County, Joliet, McHenry County, Moraine Valley, Morton, Oakton, Prairie State, Thornton, Triton, Waubonsee, and William Rainey Harper.

The Chicago City Colleges catalog provides a comprehensive three-part guide to the nine City Colleges. The philosophy and mission of the institution is unclear. No purposefully articulated philosophy or mission is presented, and goals and objectives of the colleges are not provided. The purposes served by the institution's major areas of study are mentioned, but even these are not clear. The document lacks an established philosophical framework.

The presentations of the philosophy, mission, educational objective statements, and goals of suburban colleges are clear and straightforward. Aside from City Colleges, Moraine Valley Community College is the only other institution lacking a statement of philosophy. Waubonsee College (1982), perhaps for the sake of brevity, refers its readers to "the philosophy and concept of the public community colleges as set forth in the Master Plan for Higher Education in Illinois (1964, 1966, and 1971), and the Public Community College Act of 1965."

Articulated goals and objectives divide the community colleges into the three broad areas of (1) general studies, including pre-college level instruction, developmental education, continuing education, and special interests programs; (2) university transfer programs, which offer freshman and sophomore level courses of instruction; and (3) occupational studies, designed to meet the needs of students seeking immediate employment and not generally meant for university transfer.

Most of the two-year college catalogs include a fairly descriptive narrative on the institutional purposes and mission, and major educational premises are established. The City Colleges' problem may, of course, be related to the catalog itself rather than the institution, but the absence raises serious questions. During our study City Colleges were working on a new catalog.

Academic Standards

One of the greatest difficulties facing community colleges today is the concerted effort to maintain institutional standards and at the same time provide educational opportunities to people with the full range of academic ability. That is, the problem of standards is linked to the ongoing commitment to open admissions.

Open admissions policies were once considered the hallmark of the community college movement. Now they may threaten another important feature of these schools: the university transfer component. Several indicators support this concern. David Riesman (1980, p. 187) cites the change in emphasis begun in the 1970s from transfer education to career or technical education: "It is at this point that many colleges become selective. Fields of relatively ready employment and skill instruction are heavily oversubscribed, while the transfer program may serve as a holding station for those students who have been denied entry to programs in electronics, health care, occupational therapy, and many other fields." Thus, while certain technical programs become desirable and competative, the transfer program may be used as a dumping ground rather than a serious collegiate program.

The problem in turn perpetuates a high attrition rate in university transfer programs (Clark cited in Riesman, 1960b; Medsker, 1960), resulting from large numbers of students being pushed into transfer programs, and a dilution in standards if they are subsequently pushed through them.

Competition is yet another problem facing community colleges. Arthur M. Cohen (1979, p.106) notes, "Competition for a limited pool of college age students comes from the senior institutions that can change their entrance requirements in order to maintain enrollments." Lowering admissions standards at the four-year level in an attempt to attract students is an inducement for "no standards" at the community college level. The results can be devastating for the institution: poorer students, lower levels of academic output, and an impingement on efforts to enforce standards of quality. To maintain the flow of tuition dollars, minimum academic standards may be sacrificed. The serious enrollment declines in Chicago create such pressures.

Maintaining academic standards translates into indicators of academic integrity. Therefore, community colleges that seek, as a part of their educational mission, to facilitate university transfer can help eliminate potential problems by developing standards of quality that are congruent with those found in baccalaureate programs at four-year institutions.

Academic standards can be assessed in three areas: admissions, degree designations, and program requirements.

Admissions

Screening and assessment of students for diagnostic purposes should be made at the time of admission to assure the proper academic placement of every individual. Students adequately prepared for university transfer may be admitted to these programs if so desired. Those students desiring to be placed in university transfer programs but deficient in academic background should be placed in developmental programs.

Degree Designations

The awarding of degrees represents the college's evaluation of a student's accomplishments. The decision affects every facet of university life, and every effort should be taken to ensure the proper and discrete assignment of degree levels (Spurr, 1970).

Program requirements

University transfer programs are essentially the mechanism by which community college students enter four-year institutions. Therefore, the university transfer program should provide courses of instruction "comparable to that received by lower-division students at four-year institutions" (ICCB, p. 8). As the basis for lower-division study, university transfer curricula should also emphasize general education.

Admissions Guidelines

Admissions guidelines as set forth by the Illinois Public Junior College Act (1971, p. 255) are as follows: "The Class I Junior College district shall admit all students qualified to complete any one of their programs, including general education, transfer, occupational, technical, and terminal, as long as space for effective instruction is available. After entry, the college shall counsel, and distribute the students among its programs according to their interests and abilities. Students allowed into college transfer programs must have ability and competence similar to that possessed by students admitted to state universities. Entry level competence to such college transfer programs may be achieved through successful completion of other preparatory courses offered by the college."

A report published by the Illinois Economic and Fiscal Commission (1973) shows, however, that Chicago metropolitan area community college students are, as measured by precollege scholastic achievement, inferior to their cohorts at four-year institutions (Weinberg, 1975, shows the same). Therefore, the objective, as seen by the IEFC, "to provide qualified students at the upper divisional level" cannot conceivably be met (1973, p. 11). To what extent are institutions adhering to the Illinois Public Junior College Act?

Findings

An analysis of current community college admissions policies as stated in college catalogs indicates that colleges can be catagorized in the following manner: class 1) those that exercise minimum standards; and class 2) those that exercise no standards of selectivity (nonselective). None of the institutions appears to adhere strictly to the standards of screening required by law.

Class 1 institutions are of two types (A and B), with some schools being included in both groups. Type A institutions use objective screening devices such as entrance tests, high school grades, class rank, and SAT and ACT scores before allowing students to enroll in university transfer curricula. Three such colleges are Moraine Valley, Oakton, and William Rainey Harper. These schools assess all students during or after orientation, and then they are given the option to advance to university-parallel curricula. However, this screening is in fact minimal and does not adhere to Illinois Public Junior College Act requirements.

Type B institutions observe standards of quality, but only in health-technical or occupational programs, where space is limited. Schools in this group are Elgin, Harper, and Moraine, with the latter two showing some consistancy in their efforts to establish standards at both the baccalaureate and the occupational levels.

Class 2 community colleges are schools that, according to the information provided in their catalogs, do not exercise any selective standards for students wishing to enter college-level programs. These schools constitute the majority of colleges: Chicago City Colleges, DuPage, Lake County, McHenry, Thornton, Triton, and Waubonsee. These schools apparently do not have a minimum criterion by which students are guided, sorted, or selected into programs. They take whatever the local high schools produce.

Admissions standards at Prairie State College are catagorized between classes 1 and 2. Students desiring to enter university transfer curricula there are required to have obtained a high school diploma or a GED. Provisions made for people lacking these credentials are set up once they have become established at the institution.

General Admissions Guidelines

Each college has devised some general admissions guidelines, including submission of high school transcripts (or GED), transcripts for any college or university work, and SAT or ACT scores, if they are available. These are recommended by all of the schools except the City Colleges. The College of Lake County also asks for a letter of recommendation.

Community colleges are not now screening students admitted to baccalaureate programs, as required by law. In short, the Chicago metropolitan area community colleges are not maintaining academic standards at the required level of selectivity for entry. The minority of institutions that exercise minimum standards do so for the purposes of screening and counseling. None of the schools ,however, directly prohibits underqualified students from enrolling in baccalaureate level courses. This means that professors must often try to teach a college level course to students operating far below college level.

Degree Designations

Chicago metropolitan area community colleges offer four associates degrees: the Associate of Arts (A.A.), the Associate of Science (A.S.), the Associate of Applied Science (A.A.S.), and the Associate of Liberal Studies (A.L.S.) or Associate of General Studies (A.G.S.). The A.A., A.S., and A.A.S. are offered at all of the area community colleges. Also, Waubonsee offers the A.G.S., and Elgin the A.L.S. In every institution, measures are taken to recognize the disparate functions of the different degrees. To this extent, courses which are listed as occupational will not be accepted for the partial fulfillment of the requirements of university-parallel curricula.

General Education and Transfer Program Requirements

Arthur Levine (1978, p. 1) describes general education as "the breadth component of the undergraduate curriculum." Its intended purpose is to introduce students to the principal fields of knowledge that are desirable for a well-rounded education.

A well-structured general education program indicates a college's expectation of the basic skills to be acquired by its students through an acquaintance with the various fields of knowledge. Blocker, Plummer, and Richardson, Jr. (1965, p. 214) recommend two semesters of the following general education courses for students planning to transfer to four-year colleges: English composition, humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, mathematics, and foreign language (optional). They add that, "Taken as a group, these courses touch upon every field of human knowledge."

The general education curriculum and the transfer curriculum of the colleges were evaluated according to the standards proposed by Blocker et al.(1965). In the general education core each school requires the suggested minimum study of two semesters each in English, math, natural sciences, humanities, and social sciences for A.A. and A.S. degree students. Additional requirements are made by some institutions (see Table 111). McHenry College's requirements are the most demanding, with a minimum concentration of three semesters of study in each area. Lake County College, Prairie State, and Triton have additional one-semester requirements in three of the areas: Lake County and Prairie in the social sciences and humanities; Lake County and Triton in English; and Triton and Prairie State in mathematics and natural science. About one-half of the colleges require a course in speech in addition to English.

TABLE 111

GENERAL EDUCATION REQUIREMENTS

	Number of Semesters			
Community College	English	Social Sci.	Math/Science	Humanities
Chicago City Coll.	2	2	4	2
DuPage	3	2	2	2
Lake County	3	3	2	3
Elgin	3	2	2	2
McHenry	3	4	4	4
Moraine	2	2	2	2
Oakton	2	2	2	2
Prairie State	2	3	3	3
Thornton	2	2	2 a.a. 4 a.s.	2
Triton	3	2	3 a.a. 4 a.s.	3
Waubonsee	3	2	2 a.a. 6 a.s.	2
William Rainey Harper	2	2	2 a.a.	2

Differentiation among schools occurs between the A.A. and A.S. degree levels. Harper, DuPage, Triton, Thornton, and Waubonsee each require from one to two additional semesters of study in math and science for A.S. degree students. City Colleges students do not have to meet the mathematics requirement, but they must take an additional two semesters of science.

This analysis shows that A.A. and A.S. students are expected to demonstrate some minimal proficiency in the four major fields of study. This required standard at the community colleges is consistant with the general education requirements at most four-year institutions and is satisfactory for baccalaureate instruction if offered at the appropriate level.

Transfer Programs

An overview of the community college liberal arts, mathematics, science, business, and engineering curricula indicates that six of the institutions studied--Lake County, McHenry, Morton, Oakton, Thornton, and William Rainey Harper--give an explicit and detailed account of the courses needed to complete the A.A. and A.S. degrees in each of the majors. Of the remaining institutions, the City Colleges provide a detailed program of study for some fields; other colleges offer prospective students a general idea of what may be required. In contrast, the vast majority of institutions give complete descriptions of programs of study in the occupational and technical fields.

Although the information generated here lacks the comprehensiveness that is needed for a thorough analysis, one important fact is evident. That is, according to the college catalogs a full range of courses in each subject field is available to satisfy two complete years of study at the baccalaureate level (see Table 112). It would help if all colleges provided information for baccalaureate programs with the same attention to detail that is shown to occupational areas. Chicago City Colleges could assist their students more by using separate catalogs for the different colleges.

The results of this section on programs of study draw three basic conclusions. First, community college associate degree students meet the requirements of a general education program that is broad-based and could be an adequate preparation for study in one of the four major fields of study. The courses in the general educational core are presented as baccalaureate level courses. Remedial, occupational, and developmental courses are not accepted for the fulfillment of the requirements of the core.

Second, associate degree students who have chosen a major area of study can pursue this program of study insofar as the courses are made available by the attending institution. Theoretically, then, each college provides associates degree students with a curriculum that is parallel to and suited for baccalaureate study. Whether or

TABLE 112

FOUR MAJOR FIELDS OF BACCALAUREATE STUDY AND COURSES OFFERED AT AREA COMMUNITY COLLEGES

1. Humanities
   - Languages
     - French
     - Spanish
     - Italian
     - German
     - Russian
     - Polish
     - Hebrew
     - Chinese
     - Japanese
     - Vietnamese
     - Lao
     - Arabic
     - Swahili
   - Literature
   - History
   - Philosophy
   - Arts
     - Music
     - Fine Arts
     - Drama
2. Social Sciences
   - Anthropology
   - Economics
   - Geography
   - Political Science
   - Sociology
   - Psychology
3. Natural Sciences
   - Chemistry
     - General Chemistry
     - Qualitative Inq.
     - Organic Chemistry
   - Biology
   - Physics
     - Heat and Ele-Mag. Properties
     - Wave Motion
   - Physical Sciences
4. Mathematics
   - College Algebra
   - College Trigonometry
   - Calculus
   - Analytic Geometry
   - Linear Algebra/Differential Equations
   - Quantum Mechanics

not this is the case in practice depends on the decisions by the individual institution, the actual legitimacy of its baccalaureate programs, and the general quality of its baccalaureate students.

Third, community colleges are committed to providing a scheme of baccalaureate- level instruction, but the ultimate decision to accept credit for community college courses rests with four-year transfer institutions. For this reason, community colleges are uncertain as to the exact course requirements that should be built into transfer curricula. They are reluctant to publish this information in college catalogs and therefore leave it to the individual student to determine the appropriateness of specific courses needed for transfer. This means that a student often has no way of knowing whether a "college" course he is taking will actually be accepted for credit at the college where he hopes to get a B.A. Nor does the student have any idea whether he will know enough to take the next course in a sequence when he transfers.

Program Offerings

The preceding section highlights the variety of courses theoretically available at community colleges in the major fields. In their catalogs, community colleges provide a wide range of courses in each of the fields of study that is appropriate for lower division baccalaureate work.

Catalogs promise courses, but the promises are not always kept. Students are affected by the actual academic programs in each of the colleges. The schools are compared here in terms of the total number of courses offered and the total number of courses available during a given academic term.

The scope of the investigation is limited primarily to mathematics, biology, chemistry, and physics curricula. Unlike the social sciences and the humanities, these fields offer an easily identifiable level of minimal proficiency, and their curriculum is readily agreed upon by academicians.

Findings

Table 113 is a comparison of the total math, biology, chemistry, and physics courses in the curriculum at the community colleges. The figures vary considerably among and within institutions. Chicago City Colleges contain the largest selection of any of the schools, with 28 mathematics courses, 36 courses in biology, 16 in chemistry, and 17 in physics. Of the suburban institutions, Moraine Valley lists the largest total mathematics selection, with 30 courses, followed by Harper (28), Lake County (24), Oakton (24) and DuPage (23). All of the schools are generally consistent in generating more mathematics (22 average), than biology (13 average), chemistry (9 average), and physics (8 average).

TABLE 113

COMPARISON OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF COURSES LISTED IN CATALOGS BY AREA COMMUNITY COLLEGES

Name of Community College	Math	Biol.	Chem.	Physics
Chicago City	28	35	16	17
DuPage	27	17	11	8
Lake County	24	14	7	8
Elgin	20	5	10	7
Joliet	19	13	7	6
McHenry	13	7	6	5
Moraine Valley	30	11	6	7
Morton	17	8	8	7
Oakton	24	8	9	6
Prairie State	16	12	14	10
Thornton	22	17	11	6
Triton	22	16	8	6
Waubonsee	23	10	8	13
William Rainey Harper	28	12	10	7

To assess the real curriculum, this study compares the total number of baccalaureate courses listed in a field to the total number that are actually available during a given term in the 1982-83 academic year. There are striking differences among colleges; Tables 114 and 115 show this difference in two ways. First, the actual number of courses available (according to class schedules) is shown as a percentage of the total number of courses listed in catalogs for both the city and suburban colleges. On the average, suburban institutions offer 70% of their advertised curriculum, and City Colleges 39%. In the area of mathematics, suburban institutions offer 80% of their curriculum and City Colleges 48%. Biology courses are available at suburban schools on the average of 68% of those listed, and for the City Colleges the figure is 28%. The largest variance is in the area of physics, where suburban schools account for 70% of their courses, and City Colleges 23%. Taken alone, Table 114 shows a seemingly striking difference between city and suburban colleges.

A more discriminating measure of difference is presented in Table 116. The figures here compare the actual available curricula at the institutions using absolute numbers. Mathematics is shown to have the largest variability, with City Colleges offering an average of 13.6 courses per institution and the suburban schools 19.1 courses per institution. In both biology and chemistry, City

TABLE 114

ACTUAL COURSES AVAILABLE AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MATH AND BIOLOGY COURSES OFFERED

Name of Community College	MATH			BIOL.		
	Total	Actual	%	Total	Actual	%
Chicago City:						
Daley	28	13	46	36	10	27
Kennedy-K.	28	13	46	36	10	27
Loop	28	14	50	36	9	25
Malcolm X	28	11	39	36	13	36
Olive-H.	28	17	61	36	10	28
Truman	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wright	--	--	--	--	--	--
Suburban Institutions:						
DuPage	27	21	78	17	8	47
Lake County	24	17	71	14	7	50
Elgin	20	--	--	5	--	--
Joliet	19	--	--	13	--	--
McHenry	13	--	--	7	--	--
Moraine Valley	30	18	60	11	11	100
Morton	17	14	82	8	4	50
Oakton	24	--	--	8	--	--
Prairie State	16	--	--	12	--	--
Thornton	22	19	86	17	10	59
Triton	22	18	82	16	12	75
Waubonsee	23	19	83	10	9	90
William Rainey Harper	28	27	96	12	10	83

Colleges offer more courses on the average, with 10.4 biology courses and 7.8 chemistry courses. These figures compare to suburban institutions, which have 8.9 biology and six chemistry courses on the average. The differences in available number of physics courses is smaller among institutions, with suburban schools offering 5.3 courses on the average and City Colleges four courses.

For a third measure of comparison, Table 117 shows the actual number of courses available as a percentage of courses that transfer to four-year institutions. For the majority of colleges, the number of courses available as a percentage of those that transfer is larger than the number of courses available as a percentage of total courses (compare Tables 114 to 116 with Tables 117 to 118).

TABLE 115

ACTUAL COURSES AVAILABLE AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CHEMISTRY AND PHYSICS COURSES OFFERED

Name of Community College	CHEMISTRY			PHYSICS		
	Total	Actual	%	Total	Actual	%
Chicago City:						
Daley	16	8	50	17	6	35
Kennedy-K.	16	7	44	17	3	18
Loop	16	7	44	17	3	18
Malcolm X	16	9	56	17	5	29
Olive-H.	16	8	50	17	3	18
Truman	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wright	--	--	--	--	--	--
Suburban Institutions:						
DuPage	11	8	73	8	5	63
Lake County	7	5	71	8	6	75
Elgin	10	--	--	7	--	--
Joliet	7	--	--	6	--	--
McHenry	6	--	--	5	--	--
Moraine Valley	6	4	67	7	5	71
Morton	8	4	50	7	4	57
Oakton	9	--	--	6	--	--
Prairie State	14	--	--	10	--	--
Thornton	11	7	64	6	3	50
Triton	8	7	85	6	6	100
Waubonsee	8	5	63	13	7	54
William Rainey Harper	10	8	80	7	6	86

Summary

Based on the above findings, Chicago City Colleges have the largest total curricular offerings of the area community colleges. One can find on the average six more mathematics courses in City Colleges, three times as many biology courses, and twice as many chemistry and physics courses than are listed for the suburban institutions. However, when comparing numbers of courses actually available, suburban institutions, on the average, offer six more math courses and one more physics course than do City Colleges. The City Colleges offer two more biology and chemistry courses than the average suburban school.

Using the three methods of comparison, the analysis reveals that City Colleges and suburban institutions offer relatively the same relative number of physics and chemistry courses; City Colleges

TABLE 116

COMPARISON OF COURSES ACTUALLY OFFERED IN CITY AND SUBURBAN COLLEGES

Name of Community College	Math	Biol.	Chem.	Physics
Chicago City:				
Daley	13	10	8	6
Kennedy-K.	13	10	7	3
Loop	14	9	7	3
Malcolm X	11	13	9	5
Olive-H.	17	10	8	3
Truman				
Wright				
AVERAGE	13.6	10.4	7.8	4
Suburban Colleges				
DuPage	21	8	8	5
Lake County	17	7	5	6
Moraine Valley	18	11	4	5
Morton	14	4	4	4
Thornton	19	10	7	3
Triton	18	12	7	6
Waubonsee	19	9	5	7
William Rainey Harper	27	10	8	6
AVERAGE	19.1	8.9	6	5.25

offer a larger biology curriculum, and suburban institutions offer a larger math curriculum. The suburban institutions, however, are offering a larger percentage of their advertised curricula than City Colleges.

Another important feature concerning the courses being offered at any given time is whether, in every subject area, at least one course in a sequence of courses is available. For each of the colleges, this seems to be the case. In all the Chicago area community colleges, in other words, students may engage in a sequential course of study and be assured minimal disruption in program continuity .

Transfer

Articulation of transfer with four-year institutions is a major concern for community colleges. In some states such as Florida and Georgia articulation is almost guaranteed. Georgia community colleges have a compact with state universities and other four-year institutions to give full credit to community college courses that

TABLE 117

ACTUAL MATH AND BIOLOGY COURSES AS A PERCENTAGE OF COURSES THAT TRANSFER TO FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS

Name of Community College	MATH			BIOL.		
	Total Trans.	Actual Avail.	%	Total Trans.	Actual Avail.	%
Chicago City:						
Daley	26	13	50	26	10	38
Kennedy-K.	26	13	50	26	10	38
Loop	26	14	54	26	9	35
Malcolm X	26	11	42	26	13	50
Olive-H.	26	17	65	26	10	38
Truman	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wright	--	--	--	--	--	--
Suburban Institutions:						
DuPage	21	21	100	16	8	50
Lake County	22	17	77	14	7	50
Elgin	17	--	--	5	--	--
Joliet	19	--	--	10	--	--
McHenry	12	--	--	7	--	--
Moraine Valley	25	18	72	11	11	100
Morton	17	14	82	8	4	50
Oakton	24	--	--	8	--	--
Prairie State	16	--	--	12	--	--
Thornton	19	19	100	16	10	63
Triton	20	18	90	16	12	75
Waubonsee	20	16	95	10	9	90
William Rainey Harper	18	27	96	12	10	83

have been passed by students and are designated as transfer. Florida has a uniform course numbering system for community colleges, upper division, and four-year institutions.

Illinois public community colleges are expected to articulate with state four-year institutions, but the findings of this study as well as others (Morsch, 1971) indicate differently. The Illinois Public Junior College Act establishes a clear relationship between community college graduates and senior institutions, but as Morsch (1971, pp. 80-81) points out, "[the act does] not say anything about associates degrees. Thus, for example, although it [postulates] a certain amount of work that would be acceptable for admission to upper division work, it [does] not state that the associates degree would be taken as the equivalent of such work. Ready acceptance of

TABLE 118

ACTUAL CHEMISTRY AND PHYSICS COURSES AVAILABLE AS A PERCENTAGE OF COURSES THAT TRANSFER TO FOUR YEAR INSTITUTIONS

Name of Community College	CHEM.			PHYSICS		
	Total Trans.	Actual Avail.	%	Total Trans.	Actual Avail.	%
Chicago City:						
Daley	13	8	61	17	6	35
Kennedy-K.	13	7	53	17	3	17
Loop	13	7	53	17	3	17
Malcolm X	13	9	69	17	5	29
Olive-H.	13	8	61	17	3	17
Truman	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wright	--	--	--	--	--	--
Suburban Institutions:						
DuPage	11	8	72	8	5	62
Lake County	7	5	71	8	6	75
Elgin	8	--	--	6	--	--
Joliet	7	--	--	6	--	--
McHenry	6	--	--	5	--	--
Moraine Valley	5	4	80	7	5	71
Morton	8	4	50	7	4	57
Oakton	9	--	--	6	--	--
Prairie State	14	--	--	10	--	--
Thornton	11	7	63	6	3	50
Triton	7	7	100	6	6	100
Waubonsee	5	5	100	13	7	53
William Rainey Harper	10	8	80	7	6	85

the associates degree would provide the [community college] with a means of firmly establishing its graduates credentials for admissions to higher-degree-granting institutions. As it now stands, each student's program has to be dealt with on a course by course basis as being acceptable towards the bachelors degree."

Several factors seem to be important when considering transfer. This section looks at two. First is the acceptance of community college course credit at four-year institutions. As Morsch states, educational programs leading to associates degrees are not readily accepted for transfer, and so students' programs are dealt with on a course by course basis. This process appears to be both tedious and lacking in uniformity.

Second, the section addresses the concept of "institutional credibility." Since the associate degree does not qualify for immediate upper-division transfer, the credibility, or perceived quality, of a community college may influence admissions decisions. Such a subjective judgment of an institution, its curriculum, and the quality of its students can ultimately affect access to and choice of higher educational institutions.

In this section the transfer record of each of the metropolitan area community colleges along with the top fifteen transfer-receiving institutions is analyzed in the area of transfer. Of the major transfer receiving institutions, eight have devised articulation policies. They are Eastern Illinois University, Illinois Institute of Technology, Loyola University, Northeastern Illinois University, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, and the University of Illinois at Chicago. Six of these schools made their information available for us.

Table 119 shows the total community college baccalaureate courses that transfer to four-year institutions. Between 64% and 100% of community college courses transfer. In mathematics, DuPage and Harper can transfer between 64% and 75% of their courses; Elgin, Moraine Valley, Thornton, and Waubonsee transfer from 83% to 86% of their courses; the remaining institutions transfer over 90% of their math courses. For biology, City Colleges and Joilet transfer 72% and 76% of their courses. Other schools, however, transfer at least 90% of their courses. A large number of the institutions transfer all of their chemistry and physics courses with a few exceptions: Moraine Valley, Triton and Waubonsee transfer between 80% and 87% of their chemistry courses; and Joilet transfers 86% of its physics courses.

Obviously community colleges are not transfering all of their baccalaureate level courses. This is partly because of the unsystematic way in which upper division institutions are accepting community college credit, but it is also a problem related to the courses themselves. Some that may be considered baccalaureate level at the community college are actually precollegiate. Pocket Calculator Use I and II in City Colleges, and Medical Terminology and Personal Hygiene at Joliet College can hardly be considered baccalaureate level, as suggested by the college catalogs.

Acceptance of community college courses by four-year institutions provides an indication of currency of the community college curriculum. The majority of area community colleges demonstrate a high level of currency in math, biology, chemistry,

TABLE 119

PERCENTAGES OF COMMUNITY COLLEGE COURSES THAT TRANSFER TO FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS IN MATH AND BIOLOGY

	Math		Biol.	
	No. That Transfer	% of total	No. That Transfer	% of total
Chicago City	26	92	26	72
DuPage	21	75	16	94
Lake County	22	91	14	100
Elgin	17	85	5	100
Joliet	19	100	10	76
McHenry	12	92	7	100
Moraine Valley	25	83	11	100
Morton	17	100	8	100
Oakton	24	100	8	100
Prairie State	16	100	12	100
Thornton	19	86	16	94
Triton	20	90	16	100
Waubonsee	20	86	10	100
William R.H.	18	64	12	100

Note: Community college courses are those considered baccalaureate level in the college catalogs. Four-Year colleges are: Illinois Institute of Technology, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Eastern Illinois University, Northeastern Illinois University, Loyola University, and the University of Illinois at Chicago.

and physics. Ideally, 100% of community college courses will transfer to four-year institutions. Only three colleges in this study demonstrates such a level of of acceptance across the board: Morton College, Oakton College, and Prairie State College.

Institutional Credibility

Admissions representatives from five Chicago area colleges and universities were asked to participate in an exercise rating the "average academic preparedness" of area community college students completing two years of work at a given institution. The representatives sorted and selected institutions (a) according to whether the academic preparedness of students was "better than," worse than," or "same as" that received by first-year and second-year students attending their own institutions; and (b) by rank ordering the community colleges in terms of overall quality.

"Academic preparedness" takes into account two related factors. The first is the education offered by the institution to the student, and the second is the prior learning experience brought with the student to the institution. Neither factor operates independently of the other, yet to use them in such a fashion requires an analysis far beyond the particular emphasis of this study. It is therefore with caution that general references to "academic preparedness" are made.

Table 120 is a list of institutions as they appear "better than," "worse than," and "same as" the four-year institutions. No community colleges are rated "better-than" four-year schools; four of the colleges are uniformly considered "worse than" four-year schools: Chicago City-Wide College, Daley, Kennedy-King, and Malcolm X -- all of them city colleges. The remaining institutions are considered "same as" by at least some admissions representatives.

Table 121 shows community colleges as admissions representatives ranked them relative to each other. Schools receiving the highest rankings are considered class 1 institutions. They are DuPage, Oakton, and William Rainey Harper College. Class 2 institutions are those schools that rank from third to seventh place, including Wright College, a Chicago City College. Class 3 and 4 institutions include 11 of the 19 schools that were ranked and include both city and suburban institutions. Suburban colleges place at the upper end of the two groups (eighth through eleventh place), and City Colleges the lower (Twelfth through sixteenth place).

A comparison of Tables 120 and 121 reveals that all of the schools considered "same as" by at least 80% of the representatives are class 1 institutions. Those colleges considered "same as" by 40% to 60% of four-year institutions are all class 2 and class 3 institutions according to the rankings. Two of the Class 4 institutions are rated as "same as" by 20% of the admissions representatives. They are Olive-Harvey and Truman of the Chicago City Colleges.

Clearly, the results indicate that, on subjective rating, academic credibility is higher for some community colleges than it is for others. The schools that rate consistently low are City Colleges. If these estimates are correct, a student attending City Colleges does not stand to fare well as a transfer student. In only two of the schools, according to this rating, does the possibility exist of receiving a baccalaureate education relatively equivalent to what is offered in the first two years at four-year institutions.

TABLE 120

"SAME AS" AND "WORSE THAN" COMMUNITY COLLEGE PERCENTAGE RATINGS BY SELECTED TRANSFER ADMISSIONS REPRESENTATIVES

	% Same As	% Worse Than
Chicago City:		
Daley	0	100
Kennedy King	0	100
Loop	20	80
Malcolm X	0	100
Olive-Harvey	20	80
Wright	60	40
Truman	20	80
Suburban:		
DuPage	80	20
Lake County	60	40
Elgin	60	40
Felician	40	60
Joliet	60	40
Maccormic	20	80
McHenry	20	80
Moraine	60	40
Morton	60	40
Oakton	60	40
Prairie	60	40
Thornton	20	80
Triton	60	40
Waubonsee	60	40
William Rainey Harper	80	20

Note: No institutions received "better than" ratings

The major concern that results from the above findings is that an entire system of schools is being deemed inadequate. Even on a subjective rating such as this, the implications cannot be overlooked. Chicago City Colleges are not seen as on par with other metropolitan area community colleges. The chances of transfering and obtaining a satisfactory baccalaureate education are low.

Compact Agreements

In addition to general articulation guidelines, several of the area community colleges have established compact agreements with four-year institutions. Elgin College, Thornton, and Moraine have agreements with Chicago State University, Eastern Illinois

TABLE 121

AVERAGE RATINGS BY SELECTED TRANSFER ADMISSIONS REPRESENTATIVES

Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
1. DuPage 3.2	3. Moraine 5.6	8. Elgin 10.8	14. Truman 16.8
1. Wm.R.H. 3.2	4. Triton 6.2	9. McHenry 12.4	15. Kennedy-K. 19.2
2. Oakton 3.8	5. Lake C. 6.4	10. Joliet 12	15. Olive-H. 19.2
	6. Wright 6.6	11. Thornton 13.8	16. Malcolm X 21.4
	7. Morton 8.8	11. Waubonse 13.8	
		12. Loop 14	

University, Governors State, Sangamon State, and Western Illinois University. Thornton and Moraine also have agreements with Illinois State University, Northern Illinois University, and Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Thornton has an agreement with Northeastern Illinois University.

In addition to the agreements established among these schools, Chicago City Colleges is working on an articulation program in cooperation with Roosevelt University. Loop College has been selected as the cooperating institution in the study. Also, Harper College has an agreement with Governors State University in business and secretarial science and in arts and science. These ad hoc agreements settle issues between individual institutions but do nothing about the more general lack of coherent transfer policies.

The general findings of this section indicate that community colleges are not meeting the transfer function to senior institutions. The reasons are quantitative because some community college course credits are not transfering to four-year institutions, and they are qualitative as well. This is evidenced throughout the study in that at both the point of entry to community college baccalaureate programs and at the point of transfer to four-year institutions, community college students are not necessarily equal (academically) to students in baccalaureate programs at four-year schools. Individual colleges offer differing programs and have very different reputations within higher education.

Conclusions

The chapter on curriculum assesses two major questions: (1) Is the curricular apparatus for the first and second year of baccalaureate study available for community college students? (2) Is the curriculum structured and advanced in such a way that baccalaureate students who successfully complete their programs can expect to transfer to four-year institutions with reasonable assuredness?

In answer to the first question, on the whole, Chicago area community colleges have a clear understanding of the goals and philosophies of higher education. This understanding is demonstrated by the carrying out of a full range of courses in the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, and mathematics, and by the proper designation of degree structures at the associates level. The community colleges offer well-developed courses of study that allow students to choose among the various fields of interest and pursue their education.

Several problems, however, are apparent in the functioning of the system. First, although theoretically each of the community colleges offers a full range of programs and courses, the analysis of class schedules shows that in actuality things are somewhat different. According to the aggregate figures, City Colleges offer on the average 42% of their advertised curriculum, and suburban colleges offer 76%. Part of this results from a long-standing problem of deficient catalogs that City Colleges is working to resolve.

While on the surface this may not seem very critical, the difference between advertised and actual curriculum can be of genuine importance to the student who is choosing a community college. It can indicate the institution's lack of basic committment to an educational program. Students who are easily impressed by catalogs that depict voluminous course offerings may be just as quickly dismayed by schedules that do not reflect this same variety. Institutions that do not offer a large portion of their advertised curricula would better serve their students by promising less.

In answer to the second question, there is some question as to the true baccalaureate character of community college courses. A number of the community college courses are not transfering to programs at four-year colleges and universities. Furthermore, admissions standards for community college baccalaureate programs are not stringent enough to keep underqualified students out.

Whereas a few students of lower ability or background may do well when admitted to bacccalaureate curricula given the appropriate support services, the risk taken by community colleges is that a vast majority of students may be inadequately prepared. This being the case, an institution can no longer prepare transfer students. This risk is greatest in areas with seriously inadequate secondary schools. Baccalaureate programs that are largely composed of students lacking in basic skills have lost their essential character and are no longer baccalaureate programs. At best, they are college preparatory or remedial. Students in such institutions who could profit from college level training are seriously disadvantaged. Community colleges that desire to maintain some level of credibility in baccalaureate education will have to become more selective in admitting students to university transfer curricula. This is important if students are to be prepared to transfer successfully. Real college level standards bestow a value on the degrees and credits an institution awards.

The subjective rating by admissions representatives along with the findings of the Illinois Economic and Fiscal Commission indicate that some community colleges do not attain the level of baccalaureate instruction and student qualifications found in four-year institutions. Given this and other inadequacies, it is questionable that the colleges can easily expect to achieve the same degree of academic quality and respectability that is found in the baccalaureate programs at four-year institutions.

In conclusion, problems or deficiencies with the quality and character of Chicago area community colleges are not entirely structural. Some result from the internal dynamics of the system. The first major problem is that of low academic standards; students are not being adequately screened before being allowed to enter university transfer curricula. The second is the sub-baccalaureate level of courses that are largely a product of low admissions standards. Ultimately, the character of instruction is lowered.

There is substantial reason to suspect that these causes are producing the problems in area community college baccaluareate programs. And as these problems exist in the community colleges, serving as a hindrance to the baccalaureate transfer function, the colleges differ significantly from each other and from four-year institutions.

This study does not in any way suggest that the nonbaccalaureate functions of the community college are illegitimate nor does it underestimate the grave problems for community colleges created by the very serious weaknesses of the high schools, particularly those within the city of Chicago. Our concern is a limited but very important one. The City Colleges' system is justified, in large measure, as a way of offering real college education to many who would otherwise have no opportunity for college. This is particularly true for minority students, suffering from the results of inferior, segregated elementary and secondary schools. If the City Colleges do not work for these students, nothing will. They will go to college, thinking they are really in college, but still be unprepared to transfer or obtain a degree from a good college. It is of the greatest importance that community colleges, among their other responsibilities, make certain that mobility is possible for committed students. As presently constituted, the educational programs of the colleges appear to offer the least adequate preparation to those who need the most help.

CHAPTER 12

CHOICE AND CHANNELING AMONG COMMUNITY COLLEGES INFORMATION AND COSTS

Many factors influence access to colleges and choice among colleges. One very important consideration for low-income students is the cost of attending. Another is the low level of information about colleges students possess and the strong tendency to follow in well-worn channels to a very limited range of community colleges, particularly from minority institutions.

This chapter is particularly concerned with the question of choice among community colleges. Such choice is obviously very important given the serious inequalities in dropout and transfer rates among community colleges, the differences in curricular offerings, and the very different reputations and transfer destinations for students from different two-year colleges.

Information and Responsiveness from Community Colleges

There are several factors that can affect a student's decision concerning whether or not he/she will enroll in college and which, if any, he/she will attend. The first steps taken in making that decision can be intimidating for prospective college students, particularly those with the least knowledge about higher education. For this reason, the nature of a college's response to a request for information about that college can be influential in the student's decision-making process. Since it is the purpose of this project to study access to higher education in the Chicago metropolitan area, it is important to know how colleges respond to students trying to acquire access to local institutions of higher education.

The public community colleges in the Chicago area provide access to higher education to many students who, because they lack the financial resources, the proper educational background, proper counseling, or the necessary motivation, would not attend a four-year institution. Therefore, without the community college system, they might very likely attend no college at all. For these reasons, it is especially important to learn what prospective community college students encounter when seeking information about colleges.

Two members of our research team contacted all of the public community colleges in the Chicago metropolitan area (except the Urban Skills Institute). A letter was sent on January 10, 1984 requesting winter course catalogs, and information on how to apply and on the costs to attend. A follow-up letter was sent on Feburary 1, 1984 to those schools that did not reply to the first letter, requesting the same information. Calls were also made to the Chicago area public community colleges requesting catalogs, class schedules, and information on tuition rates and financial aid. This section summarizes the results of these inquiries. Overall, the suburban community colleges responded far more effectively than did the City Colleges of Chicago.

The first set of calls was made on January 12, 1984. Table 122 gives the results of the phone conversations. Of all the City Colleges of Chicago contacted on that day, only Malcolm X agreed to send any information. The others said they they would mail out nothing during registration and three said that an inquirer would have to go there in order to acquire any material. Four out of the seven City Colleges of Chicago were courteous. All six of the suburban community colleges contacted on that day agreed to send information. Only one was not courteous.

The second set of calls was made on January 24, 1984 to those schools not yet contacted and to those that had not yet sent information. All of the City Colleges of Chicago contacted were courteous, but only one agreed to send information. None was very helpful and none volunteered additional information. All of the suburban community colleges were courteous, and all agreed to send information. All were helpful and five out of thirteen volunteered additional information.

Table 123 shows the materials received as a result of the phone calls. In response to all of the calls to the City Colleges of Chicago, Truman College sent an application for admission and Malcolm X sent the *City Colleges of Chicago Catalog* (Parts II and III), a class schedule, and an application for admission.

In response to the calls to the suburban colleges, all thirteen sent information. Seven sent only one piece of material (three catalogs, one brochure, one class schedule, and one application). All of the others sent combinations of the above information. Only five did not send catalogs, which are the most important source of information.

None of all the colleges contacted, with the exception of Joliet Junior College, sent information on financial aid. Attached

TABLE 122

RESULTS OF PHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA COMMUNITY COLLEGES

College	Results of Phone Call
City Wide College	Never contacted (busy line or no answer).
Kennedy-King College	They would send out nothing during registration and said that one would have to go there when registration was over in order to acquire any material.
Loop College	They would send out nothing during registration and said that one would have to go there in order to acquire any material.
Malcolm X College	They agreed to send a schedule for this semester.
Olive-Harvey College	They agreed to send a schedule for this semester.
Richard J. Daley College	They would send nothing during registration. The Financial Aid Office said one would have to call back in Februray to receive any information.
Truman College	They would send out nothing during registration but later would send an application and a class schedule.
Wright College	They would send out nothing. They said that catalogs are on file at local high schools and one needs ACT scores and a transcript in order to apply.
College of DuPage	They agreed to send a catalog and class schedule.
Elgin Community College	They agreed to send a catalog and explained that out-of-district fees were more than those for residents. They said that the next step for a student would be speaking to one of their counselors.
College of Lake County	They agreed to send a catalog and class schedule.
Joliet Junior College	They agreed to send a class schedule and general information and said that catalogs cost $1.65.
McHenry County College	They agreed to send general information, but said that an A.A. is the same wherever one goes and it would not be worth it for one to go there if not a resident.
Morain Valley Comm. College	They agreed to send a catalog and spring class schedule.
Morton College	They agreed to send a catalog and spring class schedule.

Prairie State College	They agreed to send an application, catalog, and class schedule.
Oakton Community College	They agreed to send a catalog.
Thornton Community College	They agreed to send a catalog.
Triton College	They agreed to send general information.
Waubonsee Comm. College	They agreed to send a spring class schedule and an academic catalog when they are available (the catalog is in the process of being printed).
William Rainey Harper College	They agreed to send a catalog, class schedule, and an application.

to Joliet Junior College's application for admission, there was an application for financial aid. In summary, the suburban community colleges were more helpful and more effective in their responses to the phone inquiries than were the City Colleges.

Both the City Colleges of Chicago and the suburban community colleges responded effectively to the letters as demonstrated in Table 123. Two of the City Colleges of Chicago sent only one piece of material (a class schedule or an application for admission). The others sent combinations of material. Two sent all three sections and one sent one section of the *City Colleges Catalog*. Kennedy-King and Malcolm X were the only city colleges that sent their own Student Handbooks. Three sent information cards on financial aid.

Ten out of the thirteen suburban colleges sent information in response to the letter. Three sent only one piece of information (a catalog or a class schedule). Eight sent catalogs and the others sent combinations of information. Only two sent information on financial aid. The College of DuPage sent an extensive amount of information on financial aid.

Although both city and suburban colleges responded to the requests by letter, both groups could improve in effectiveness. All of the City Colleges of Chicago sent material, but the extent of the information in the material was not great. Also, as Table 124 shows, it took the City Colleges of Chicago an average of nine days longer than suburban colleges to mail out their material. The suburban colleges mailed out material with extensive amounts of information in less time, but three out of the thirteen colleges sent nothing.

Compared to the City Colleges of Chicago, suburban community colleges were both more courteous and helpful on the phone and sent

TABLE 123

INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN RESPONSE TO REQUESTS MADE BY PHONE AND MAIL

College	Information Received
City Wide College	PHONE CALL: Nothing. LETTER: Class schedule.
Kennedy-King College	PHONE CALL: Nothing. LETTER: City College Catalog, Part III. Kennedy-King College Student Handbook.
Loop College	PHONE CALL: Nothing. LETTER: One-page letter acknowledging the requests for information. Information sheet on the college and its programs. Application for admission. City Colleges of Chicago Financial Aid Information Card.
Malcolm X College	PHONE CALL: City Colleges of Chicago Catalog, Parts II and III. Class schedule. Application for admissions. LETTER: City Colleges of Chicago Catalog, Parts I, II, and III. Malcolm X College Student Handbook. Application for admissions. Information sheet on Programs in: Renal (Nephrology) Technology, Radiologic Technology, Nursing. Brochures on programs in: Accounting, Data Processing, and Nursing.
Olive-Harvey College	PHONE CALL: Nothing. LETTER: Class Schedule. Application for admission. One-page letter. City Colleges of Chicago Financial Aid Information Card.
Richard J. Daley College	PHONE CALL: Nothing. LETTER: Application for admission.
Truman College	PHONE CALL: Application for admission. LETTER: Application for admission. City Colleges of Chicago Financial Aid Information Card.
Wright College	PHONE CALL: Nothing. LETTER: City Colleges of Chicago Catalog, Parts I, II, and III. Class schedule. Application for admission.
College of DuPage	PHONE CALL: Catalog. Class schedule. Financial aid information including: College of DuPage Financial Aid Handbook, U.S. Dept. of Education Student Guide to Five Financial Aid Programs, 2

	College of DuPage Brochures on Understanding Your Financial Aid Award. LETTER: Catalog. Application for admission.
Elgin Community College	PHONE CALL: Catalog. LETTER: Catalog.
College of Lake County	PHONE CALL: Catalog. Class Schedule. LETTER: Nothing.
Joliet Junior College	PHONE CALL: Brochure. Application for admission and financial aid. LETTER: Class schedule. Brochure. Letter explaining that the catalog costs extra. Applications for admission and financial aid.
McHenry County College	PHONE CALL: Brochure. LETTER: Nothing.
Morain Valley Comm. College	PHONE CALL: Catalog. LETTER: Catalog.
Morton College	PHONE CALL: Catalog. Class schedule. LETTER: Catalog. Class schedule. Letter explaining the material sent and out-of-district tuition rates.
Prairie State College	PHONE CALL: Catalog. Application for admission. Letter explaining out-of-district tuition rates and the charge-back policies offered by some community colleges. LETTER: Catalog. Class schedule. Application for admission.
Oakton Community College	PHONE CALL: Application for admission. LETTER: Nothing.
Thornton Community College	PHONE CALL: Catalog. LETTER: Catalog. Class schedule. Information sheet on Thornton's Enrollment Classifications.
Triton College	PHONE CALL: Application for admissions. Letter. Information sheet on tuition and fees and housing. Financial aid application form. Triton College Brochure on Financial Aid. LETTER: Catalog. Application for admission. Information sheet on tuition, fees and housing.
Waubonsee Comm. College	PHONE CALL: Class schedule. LETTER: Class schedule.
William Rainey Harper College	PHONE CALL: Catalog. Class schedule. Application for admission. LETTER: Catalog. Class schedule. Application for admission.

TABLE 124

RESPONSES TO REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION FROM THE CITY COLLEGES OF CHICAGO (NUMBER OF DAYS FOR THE COLLEGES TO RESPOND)

College	Phone Call	Letter
City Wide College	X	3
Kennedy-King College	N	29
Loop College	N	24
Malcolm X College	1	27
Olive-Harvey College	40*	2
Richard J. Daley College	N	30
Truman College	16	37
Wright College	N	24
College of DuPage	5	3
Elgin Community College	45	15
College of Lake County	1	56*
Joliet Junior College	0	7
McHenry County College	5	56*
Morain Valley Community College	13	15
Morton College	21	27
Prairie State College	13	15
Oakton Community College	5	56*
Thornton Community College	0	0
Triton College	13	24
Waubonsee Community College	5	3
William Rainey Harper College	7	15
Total Average	10.0	16.7
Total Average*	9.0	22.3
City Average	8.5	22.0
City Average*	19.0	--
Suburban Average	10.2	12.4
Suburban Average*	--	22.5

Note: X - Never contacted. N - Agreed to send nothing.
* - Have received nothing by June 1984 (not calculated into first averages).

The numbers were calculated by subtracting the date of the postmark from the date of the phone call or mailing. Because the postmark on the material from Elgin Community College is illegible, the date it was received is used in its place in the calculations.

TABLE 125

MATERIALS RECEIVED FROM CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN REPONSE TO REQUESTS BY PHONE AND LETTER

College	Catalog	Class Schedule	Application	Letter or Brochures	Finan. Aid	Hand-Book
City-Wide College	L	L				
Kennedy-King Coll.	L	L		L		L
Loop College			L	L	L	
Malcolm X College	L P	P	L P	L		L
Olive-Harvey College		L	L	L	L	
Richard J. Daley College			L			
Truman College			L P		L	
Wright College	L	L	L			
College of DuPage	L P	P	L		P	
College of Lake County	P	P				
Elgin Community College	L P					
Joilet Junior Coll.		L P	L P	L P	L P	
McHenry County College				P		
Moraine Valley College						
Morton College	L P	L P		L		
Oakton Community College			P			
Prairie State Coll.	L P	L	L P	P		
Thornton Community College	L P	L		L		
Triton College	L		L P	L P	P	
Waubonsee Community College		L P				
William Rainey Harper College	L P	L P	L P			

	City Colleges of Chicago		Suburban Community Colleges
Total Number of Colleges Responding			
Letter:	8	Letter:	10
Phone Call:	2	Phone Call:	13
Total Number of Materials Received			
Letter:	23	Letter:	24
Phone Call:	4	Phone Call:	26

Note: L - response to letter

P - response to phone call

more information more speedily in response to inquiries. It appears that they show a greater concern for prospective students than do the City Colleges of Chicago. This could imply serious consequences for prospective community college students in the city. Those in the suburbs will possibly have a simpler and more encouraging decision-making process than students in the city. When one considers the confusing and inadequate nature of the City Colleges catalogs, discussed in Chapter 12, the problem becomes even more serious. The materials provided often listed courses that were not, in fact, available at the campus the student might decide to attend.

One of the most serious problems, in light of the findings in the next chapter about the inadequacy of financial aid for community college students, was the inadequate information provided by the colleges about the availability of assistance. Since many of the students calling community colleges have not taken national achievement tests or filed applicatons for state or federal financial aid programs, it is very important that they receive clear and readily usable information as promptly as possible on this issue.

Our survey showed that the colleges that are losing enrollment the most rapidly and serve the students with the least information about college choices are generally the least helpful and courteous in responding to inquiries. Both for the sake of prospective students and for their own success in attracting and helping students, this issue needs more attention.

The problem of unequal provision of information can be addressed at the managerial level within the various campuses and systems. A more difficult problem is that of a system of unequal tuition levels that strongly fosters the kind of channeling that, as this report has shown so frequently, leads to unequal educational opportunity.

Tuition Barriers to Suburban Community Colleges

Although the public community colleges in the Chicago metropolitan area operate under a statewide system of planning and coordination, deviations occur in various areas since local district boards of trustees govern and manage the individual colleges. Significant differences exist between colleges in the amounts charged for out-of-district tuition. The City Colleges of Chicago charge a much smaller amount for out-of-district tuition than do all of the suburban community colleges. These high tuition rates at suburban colleges could possibly be barriers to city-suburban transfers. This problem is especially consequential since this report's assessment of Junior College Curricula (see Chapter 11) indicates that there are differences between colleges in the areas of courses, offerings, and standards of quality.

The City Colleges of Chicago charge an additional $13.39, or 66% more, to out-of-district residents. Suburban community colleges charge from 117% to 355% more to out-of-district residents. On the average, the suburban colleges charge an additional $36.60, or 182% more. This is an average of $23.21, or 173% more, than the out-of-district tuition rates at the City Colleges of Chicago.

Community colleges operate with very low tuition rates because of the important role they play as the element of the higher education system that is genuinely affordable at a time of skyrocketing tuition levels at many other public and private institutions. The nature of the community college tuition system, however, creates a strong barrier that can prevent students who are physically near a much stronger college with a far better transfer rate and wider curriculum from having a real choice. A student on the West Side of Chicago, for example, who thought that she could benefit from one of the special programs available at nearby Triton College but not at Malcolm X would face a prohibitive increase in tuition costs. A twelve credit semester at Malcolm X would cost her $240, but the same program at Triton would cost $732, increasing her tuition costs by 205%. Given the residential segregation of metropolitan Chicago, this system of much higher out-of-distict tuitions is a barrier to any change in the standing of the community colleges in this state as the nation's most segregated. It strongly reinforces the channeling of minority students to less effective institutions.

Summary

The data in this chapter show the operation of two significant aspects of the higher education system that affect choice and opportunity for students needing assistance in obtaining access to good collegiate preparation. Information provided to potential students is not provided adequately or in a timely fashion, particularly at some City College campuses, and there is a general failing to provide good financial aid materials. A second finding is that the existing system of much higher out-of-district tuition levels constitutes a major barrier to students desiring stronger preparation for successful transfer.

TABLE 126

PUBLIC COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA TUITION AND FEES IN DOLLARS, 1983-84

	Tuition per Credit Hour		
College	In-District	Out-of-District	Other Fees
City Colleges of Chicago	20.00	13.39	3.00
College of DuPage	17.00	37.00	10.00 Matriculation Fee
College of Lake County	17.25	56.27	.90/credit hour Registration Fee
Elgin Community College	23.50	56.99	10.00 Application 1.00/credit hour service fee
Joliet Junior College	18.00	52.30	10.00 Registration Fee
McHenry County College	19.00	49.59	10.00 Graduation Fee
Morain Valley Community College	22.50	50.00	1.55/credit hour Activity Fee
Morton College	18.00	81.98	.75/credit hour Activity Fee 10.00 Application
Oakton Community College	16.00	55.00	.75/credit hour Activity Fee 10.00 Application
Prairie State College	27.00	67.00	5.00 Application 1.00/credit hour service fee
Thornton Community College	24.00	52.00	10.00 Application 1.50/credit hour Regis./Service Fee
Triton College	22.00	61.00	10.00 Application 12.00(for 12 or more credit hours) Service Fee
Waubonsee Community College	20.50	63.50	-
William Rainey Harper College	25.00	62.94	12.00 non-refund. application fee, 12.00(for 12 or more credit hrs) Activity Fee

TABLE 127

ADDITIONAL COSTS PER CREDIT HOUR FOR OUT-OF-DISTRICT STUDENTS AT CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA COMMUNITY COLLEGES

	Additional Cost	
	Dollars	Percentage
City Colleges of Chicago	13.39	66
College of DuPage	20.00	117
College of Lake County	39.02	226
Elgin Community College	33.49	143
Joliet Junior College	34.30	191
McHenry County College	30.59	161
Morain Valley Community College	27.50	122
Morton College	63.98	355
Oakton Community College	39.00	244
Prairie State College	40.00	148
Thornton Community College	28.00	117
Triton College	39.00	177
Waubonsee Community College	43.00	210
William Rainey Harper College	37.94	152
Average for Suburban Colleges	36.60	182

CHAPTER 13

TRANSFERS

One measure of access to more competitive higher education institutions is the ability of a student to transfer from two-year community colleges to competitive four-year colleges and universities. Many students begin their college educations at community colleges and complete their educations at senior institutions. For those students who begin at a community college intending to transfer to a four-year institution, the most important aspect of the community college is the students' chances of moving on to a senior college, especially one that is highly regarded. These students are the central focus of this part of the study.

The possibility of transfer is particularly crucial for black and Hispanic students from Chicago, who are highly concentrated in community colleges. Even as minority students are channeled into community colleges from minority high schools, the data in this chapter show both that few ever transfer from those community colleges to four-year institutions and that those who do transfer from the minority community colleges are channeled into the least selective four-year institutions in very disproportionate numbers, completing the cycle of racial inequality in Chicago area education. Community colleges in various parts of the city and suburbs, in effect, function as feeder institutions for particular four-year colleges for the minority of students who find themselves able to make a transfer.

This chapter examines the relevant data on transfers among institutions of higher education in Illinois, with special emphasis on the Chicago metropolitan area. The hypotheses under investigation are (1) predominantly minority community colleges transfer students at a lower rate than predominantly white colleges and, (2) of the students that transfer, those from minority schools, on average, go to less selective four-year institutions than the average transfer students from white colleges.

For the most part these hypotheses were confirmed by the data. Predominantly minority community colleges transferred 8.6% of their prebaccalaureate students compared with 12.9% for predominantly white colleges. Also, on average, students from predominantly minority colleges were 10 times more likely to attend less selective four-year colleges than students from white colleges.

Illinois Community College Board Study

The Illinois Community College Board has conducted two studies on transfers from community colleges in Illinois, one in 1973 and the other in 1979. The 1973 study followed students for three years to measure progress toward completion of a degree; the 1979 study is slated to follow students for five years. The 1979 study is more relevant because it is more recent and focuses only on transfers within Illinois colleges. A 1982 ICCB follow-up report to the 1979 study shows the general pattern of transfers. Their report includes all community colleges in the state. A large proportion of the transfers, 64%, come from the Chicago metropolitan area.

The statewide ratio of transfers to prebaccalaureate enrollment one year and two years earlier was 11% and 14% from fall 1975 to fall 1979. In 1979, according to this study, about 53% of transfers to senior institutions came from prebaccalaureate concentrators, 19% from "undeclared" students, 17% from occupational, 10% from *business, and 1% from "other" (ICCB Report 1, p. 8). By far the* most transfers come from prebaccalaureate programs, but more than a third come from "undeclared" and occupational programs. According to the ICCB study (p. 7), 31% of transfers in 1979 had received associate degrees, 7% had received associate in applied science degrees, and 62% had received no degree.

Kinds of Institutions

To compare the chances of educational success for students from different racial groups it was necessary to divide community colleges in the Chicago metropolitan area into predominantly white, predominantly minority, and integrated institutions. White colleges are those with 85% or more white students, minority colleges are those with 85% or more minority students, and integrated are all colleges whose student mix falls between these two extremes. After the separation is made, almost all (11) of the suburban community colleges fall into the predominantly white category, nine from the city and suburbs fall into the integrated category, and only three from the city are in the predominantly minority group. Two other private two-year colleges, St. Augustine and the Native American Educational Center, could have been included in the predominantly minority category as well since they are both 100% minority. However, St. Augustine is very new (begun in 1981) and in 1982 transferred no students. Native American also did not transfer any students. Therefore, neither is included in this analysis. Nevertheless, both should be included in any future transfer surveys, however.

Two institutions are left out of most calculations in this study-Urban Skills and College of DuPage-Open - because neither is really meant to be a transfer institution. Urban Skills is classified as a community college, but it primarily serves as a remedial high school equivalency and adult education center. Inclusion of Urban Skills tends to skew the figures and provides little meaningful data on transfer rates. DuPage-Open skews the figures for white and suburban colleges.

The second classification is that of the selectivity of the four-year institutions to which students transfer. The four-year colleges were separated into three groups using the ACT scores of entering freshmen as the measuring tool. Colleges whose students' scores ranked in the top 90% of ACT scores were placed in the most selective category, those whose students' scores were in the bottom 30% were placed in the least selective category, while all others for which information was available were put in the medium selectivity group. These breakoff points were chosen because of natural breaks in the distribution of ACT scores for the colleges in this study.

There are five colleges in the most selective group (Northwestern, U. of Chicago, U of I at Urbana, Wheaton, and Lake Forest), three in the least selective category (Chicago State, Northeastern, and George Williams), and 32 in the medium selectivity category. Those not rated include DeLourdes, Mallinkrodt, East-West, and most private colleges outside the Chicago metropolitan area.

Quality of Data

The data used to research transfers was provided by the *Data Book on Illinois Higher Education* published by the State of Illinois Board of Higher Education. While this book has much information on the student population of Illinois higher education, until fall 1982 it had only a limited breakdown of transfers among institutions in Illinois. This limits the historical investigation to only a small section of the transfer spectrum. Also, a number of colleges did not provide IBHE with information on earlier years, which makes the data from those years less useful.

This chapter analyzes 1982 data in detail and then constructs five-year trends to the extent that doing so is possible. The transfer trends, at least to public universities, appear to be relatively stable.

The more detailed breakdown for 1982 is not entirely satisfactory for several reasons. First, and most important for the purposes of this study, it is impossible to tell what kinds of students are transferring. The data gives the number of transfers, but no characteristics of the students who transfer nor anything about what programs these students are transferring from. Futhermore, we do not know the personal characteristics such as race, sex, or family income. But for the most part, the lack of racial information is mitigated by the extreme concentration of the different races in separate colleges. (Analysis based on direct survey data is presented in Chapter 9 of this study.)

Another limitation of the data is that there is no way of knowing into which program a student transfers. A third overall limitation to the data is that the figures represent only fall transfers. Transfers at other periods of the year are not included, so the total number of transfers is understated. This is, however, the time when the majority of the transfers occur, accounting for about 77% of all transfers (ICCB, 1982, P. 6).

In addition to the overall limitations to the data, specific institutions present problems. One institution, Northwestern University, does not report the origins of its transfers. It provides only the total number of transfers accepted. It is one of only five colleges in the most selective category, and the missing data are important to any analysis of relative selectivity of transfers.

Criteria Used for Evaluation

Generalized data make it difficult to compare colleges. Many students not in prebaccalaureate programs do transfer. It appears, also, that not all community colleges classify students consistently; some schools have much larger residual categories than others. Another problem is that colleges have different percentages of full- and part-time students. Those colleges with more full-time students should be expected to transfer students at a higher rate than colleges with lower percentages of full-time students. Thus, it becomes very difficult to know which part of a college population should be used for comparison of transfer rates.

The purpose of studying transfer data, though, is to attempt to measure the access a student has to senior institutions after enrolling in a community college. The primary interest for this study is those students who enrolled with the intention of transferring at a later date to a four-year institution. The best measure for this would be made from the students enrolled in prebaccalaureate programs. Comparing the number of transfers to the number of prebaccalaureate students can give a rough indication of how successfully colleges achieve the goal of providing access to senior institutions to those students who desire it. This is also the measure that the ICCB used for their studies. Though far from perfect, it is the best tool for comparisons. Since we know that almost half of transfers come from outside the prebaccalaureate programs, this method tends to overestimate the percent transferring from those programs and understate attrition.

It is important to note that this chapter is not a study of transfer patterns among students who receive A.A. degrees. Since the state transfer data show that most students who transfer do not receive such degrees before their transfer and graduation statistics show that only a small fraction of students enrolled in pre-B.A. programs in community colleges ever complete the two-year degree, this analysis examines the percent of total baccalaureate enrollment that transfers. Had we studied the community college graduates instead, the number of students would have been very much smaller but the percent of transfers much higher. The 1983 followup study of Morton College graduates, for example, found that 63% of those responding reported that they were full-time students and 17% were studying part-time (Interview with Tony Spahr, Morton College, Sept. 10, 1984).

Transfer Research Findings

This section is divided into six parts, each dealing with a separate aspect of transfers in the Chicago metropolitan area. Part One gives an overall picture of transfer patterns; Part Two contrasts white, minority and integrated community colleges' transfer rates; Part Three contrasts white and minority colleges in Chicago; Part Four contrasts city and suburban community colleges, with a subsection on white city versus white suburban colleges; Part Five compares Chicago and DuPage County community colleges; and Part Six discusses relative quality of institutions to which students transfer from different sending colleges.

General Transfer Patterns in the Chicago Metropolitan Area

The general pattern of transfers, at least among public universities, remained fairly stable between fall 1978 and fall 1982, as shown in Table 128. Most colleges sent approximately the same number of students to public universities both within and outside the Chicago metropolitan area. The only two trends evident are a decrease in the number of students sent outside the Chicago metropolitan area by the City Colleges and an increase in the transfers within the metropolitan area by the suburban colleges. Unfortunately, there are only two years of individual data for each of the Chicago City Colleges and the overall trend has been somewhat erratic.

The number of students who transfer outside the metropolitan area has remained fairly constant from the suburban colleges, however, so the increase of within-metropolitan area transfers does not come at the expense of outside transfers to public universities. It could either represent a real increase in the number of transfers or a shift away from private four-year institutions.

The five-year figures for the receiving public universities in Table 129 show very definite trends at individual colleges. The number of transfers from city colleges to Chicago State has increased slightly, transfers to Governors State and U of I at Chicago have remained constant, and transfers to Northeastern Illinois University have declined a little. Suburban transfers have gone up to Governors State and U of I at Chicago while remaining the same at Northeastern and Chicago State.

Outside Chicago, transfers from city colleges have remained almost constant at every college except for U of I at Urbana, where they have fluctuated, and ISU, where they have declined. Transfers from suburban colleges have also remained fairly constant at most schools except for SIU-Edwardsville, where the number of transfers has increased.

Overall, the transfer patterns among public universities have changed little which lends some credibility to the use of 1982 figures in examining transfer patterns in depth.

The individual data for Chicago's two-year institutions show strong channeling. The most significant figures concern Chicago State and Northeastern. Kennedy-King sends 44% (130) of its vertical (up to four-year institutions) transfers to Chicago State, and Olive-Harvey sends 47% (128). Truman sends 36% (122) to Northeastern, and Wright sends 31% (135). The percentages are very large compared with those of the other schools. The transfers to most other institutions are distributed somewhat evenly.

The suburban data have several important patterns. NIU accounts for large numbers and percentages of the transfers from Elgin (93, 34%), McHenry (84, 47%), and Waubonsee (95, 35%), and over 20% from DuPage, Lake, and Harper.

TABLE 128

TRANSFERS FROM COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA TO PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES IN CHICAGO AND DOWNSTATE ILLINOIS FROM FALL 1978 TO FALL 1982

COLLEGE	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978
KENNEDY-KING	174	170			221
Non-Metro	13	16			22
MALCOLM X	86	79			113
Non-Metro	7	7			11
OLIVE-HARVEY	172	149			205
Non-Metro	21	22			15
LOOP	202	179			196
Non-Metro	29	28			29
CITY-WIDE	58	35			5
Non-Metro	18	16			2
TRUMAN	200	138			149
Non-Metro	14	11			21
DALEY	132	94			103
Non-Metro	55	51			64
WRIGHT	246	253			262
Non-Metro	41	49			61
CITY TOTAL	1285	1106	1348	1322	1257
Non-Metro	200	202	206	215	227
PRAIRIE STATE	113	114	118	107	25
Non-Metro	116	119	103	115	115
THORNTON	139	116	144	101	51
Non-Metro	131	134	150	136	146
DUPAGE	130	88	116	88	104
Non-Metro	512	592	549	527	557
LAKE COUNTY	43	56	58	39	41
Non-Metro	254	256	226	284	245
ELGIN	17	7	16	15	10
Non-Metro	177	183	183	179	181
JOLIET	50	49	32	46	13
Non-Metro	251	250	258	238	258
MCHENRY	9	3	7	3	6
Non-Metro	134	138	140	121	106
MORAINE VALLEY	180	150	132	108	77
Non-Metro	214	269	232	201	200
MORTON	51	38	29	44	30
Non-Metro	48	40	69	63	55
OAKTON	191	146	164	154	122
Non-Metro	183	192	144	193	162

TRITON	213	141	186	165	164
Non-Metro	178	217	207	201	237
WAUBONSEE	5	6	7	12	2
Non-Metro	160	182	165	162	168
WM. HARPER	113	101	114	107	102
Non-Metro	466	562	488	456	521
SUBURBAN TOTAL	1254	1015	1123	989	747
Non-Metro	2824	3134	2914	2876	2951
GRAND TOTAL	2539	2121	2471	2311	2004
Non-Metro	3024	3336	3120	3091	3178

NOTE: CITY COLLEGES FIGURES FROM FALL 1978 PROVIDED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT NO. 508, 1979. FIGURES FOR TRANSFERS WITHIN THE METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1978 DO NOT INCLUDE TRANSFERS TO GOVERNOR'S STATE.

Other universtities each have a particular group of community colleges from which they draw, such as Governors State and Northeastern. These can be partly accounted for by the proximity of the community colleges to the institution. The other four-year colleges for the most part draw transfers from all over the suburbs.

Information on the percentages of transfers from each community college is given in Table 130. Obviously, there is a large variation in rates of transfers--5.8% to 26.4% in the total baccalaureate enrollment column and 9.3% to 39.8% for FTE (full-time equivalent) baccalaureate. The colleges in the city have lower rates overall than the suburban colleges, but some suburban schools have rates as low as some in the city.

Table 131 gives the percentages of minority students and of transfers in community colleges. Generally, these two percentages are inversely related. As later sections show, minority two-year colleges have significantly lower transfer rates than predominantly white two-year colleges.

Minority, Integrated, and White Community College Transfers

This section highlights the differences among predominantly white, minority, and integrated community colleges in the Chicago metropolitan area.

Table 132 summarizes the vertical transfers--that is, those from two-year to four-year institutions for minority, integrated and white schools. These transfers are then computed as percentages of the prebaccalaureate students enrolled at these institutions on both

TABLE 129

TRANSFERS FROM CHICAGO AREA CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES IN ILLINOIS FOR FALL 1978 TO FALL 1982

INSTITUTION	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978
CHICAGO STATE	447	403	462	400	429
Suburban	42	41	47	46	54
GOVERNOR'S ST.	50	57	49	56	N/A
Suburban	298	282	243	217	N/A
NORTHEASTERN	361	256	406	418	419
Suburban	275	197	302	282	302
UI-CHICAGO	427	390	431	448	407
Suburban	639	495	531	444	391
CITY TOTAL	1285	1106	1348	1322	1257
Suburban	1254	1015	1123	989	747
EASTERN	16	15	16	13	15
Suburban	243	271	200	218	235
ISU	23	27	21	47	43
Suburban	485	421	482	490	474
NIU	45	45	43	44	68
Suburban	1136	1203	1139	1080	1160
SANGAMON ST.	3	1	1	1	1
Suburban	4	11	16	6	16
SIU-CARB	71	60	53	60	53
Suburban	441	548	484	453	466
SIU-EDW.	9	1	3	4	3
Suburban	23	18	10	9	11
UI-URBANA	8	23	42	20	19
Suburban	241	326	300	336	302
WESTERN	25	30	27	26	25
Suburban	251	336	283	286	288
OUTSIDE SMSA TTL	200	202	206	215	227
Suburban	2824	3134	2914	2876	2951
GRAND TOTAL	5563	5457	5591	5402	5182

total headcount and full-time-equivalent bases. Both of these measures somewhat understate the true population of potential transfer students, however, which tends to inflate the transfer percentages and reduce the attrition rate.

Integrated or predominantly white colleges had transfer rates 50% higher than those of the minority colleges when percentages of total prebaccalaureate students were examined (see Table 132). The difference is even greater when FTE baccalaureate percentages are

TABLE 130

PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFERS FROM COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA TO FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS IN ILLINOIS FOR 1982

		HEADCOUNT		FTE	
COLLEGE	*TRANSFERS*	*BACCALAUREATE*	%	*BACCALAUREATE*	%
KENNEDY-KING	293	2,603	11.3	1,788	16.4
MALCOLM X	161	2,791	5.8	1,725	9.3
OLIVE-HARVEY	273	3,018	9.0	2,072	13.2
LOOP	387	2,778	13.9	1,510	25.6
CITY-WIDE	109	1,362	8.0	358	30.5
TRUMAN	336	3,031	11.1	1,819	18.5
DALEY	295	1,295	22.8	740	39.9
WRIGHT	441	3,250	13.6	1,667	26.5
MACCORMAC	46	372	12.4	336	13.7
CITY TOTAL	2341	20,500	11.5	12,015	19.6
PRAIRIE STATE	279	2,922	9.5	1,532	18.2
THORNTON	372	1,620	23.0	995	37.4
DUPAGE	1093	4,135	26.4	3,191	34.3
LAKE COUNTY	396	3,246	12.2	1,783	22.2
ELGIN	271	3,118	8.7	1,492	18.2
JOLIET	470	2,834	16.6	1,528	30.8
MCHENRY	177	1,439	12.3	778	22.8
MORAINE VALLEY	667	5,631	11.8	3,326	20.1
MORTON	164	1,399	11.7	759	21.6
OAKTON	548	5,495	10.0	2,862	19.1
TRITON	692	4,909	14.1	3,206	21.6
WAUBONSEE	270	3,228	8.4	1,372	19.7
WM. HARPER	834	7,886	10.6	4,301	19.4
SUBURBAN TOTAL	6233	47,862	13.0	27,125	23.0
GRAND TOTAL	8574	68,362	12.5	39,140	21.9

compared. White colleges transferred at a 75% higher rate and integrated at a 95% higher rate. Even though minority colleges have more full-time students in prebaccalaureate programs they are less successful in transferring. The FTE statistics are somewhat biased, though, since they give a heavier weight to part-time student transfers and minority colleges have a much lower percentage of part-time students than the other two school types. However, the large differences in both transfer rates prove that minority colleges transfer at a far lower rate.

Table 133 lists the numbers and percentages of transfers to the major four-year institutions in the Chicago metropolitan area from

TABLE 131

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF MINORITIES IN CHICAGO AREA COMMUNITY COLLEGES AND RATES OF TRANSFER FOR FALL 1982 ON HEADCOUNT BACCALAUREATE BASIS

COLLEGE	% MINORITY	% TRANSFER RATE
OLIVE-HARVEY	95	9.0
KENNEDY-KING	94	11.3
MALCOLM X	92	5.8
LOOP	67	13.9
CITY-WIDE	34	8.0
TRUMAN	27	11.1
DALEY	21	22.8
WRIGHT	21	13.6
THORNTON	19	23.0
PRAIRIE STATE	17	9.5
JOLIET	12	16.6
LAKE	12	12.2
TRITON	11	14.1
WAUBONSEE	9	8.4
ELGIN	5	8.7
MORTON	5	11.7
MORAINE VALLEY	4	11.8
OAKTON	3	10.0
WM. HARPER	3	10.6
DUPAGE	2	26.4
MCHENRY	0	12.3

TABLE 132

PERCENTAGE OF UPWARD TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY, INTEGRATED AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS

SCHOOL TYPE	*TRANSFERS*	HEADCOUNT *BACCALAUREATE*	%	FTE *BACCALAUREATE*	%
MINORITY	727	8,412	8.6	5,585	13.0
INTEGRATED	2265	16,630	13.6	8,957	25.3
WHITE	5582	43,320	12.9	24,598	22.7
TOTAL	8574	68,362	12.5	39,140	21.9

each type of college. Table 134 gives each four-year college's percentage of the total transfers in the Chicago metropolitan area in each category. The other tables are set up similarly to show transfers to the other private four-year colleges in the Chicago area not in Table 133 and other four-year institutions outside the metropolitan area.

TABLE 133

LARGEST RECIPIENTS OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY, INTEGRATED AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

METRO CHICAGO	MINORITY	%	INTEGRATED	%	WHITE	%	TOTAL
AURORA	3	3	2	2	99	95	104
CHICAGO STATE	303	62	164	34	22	4	489
COLUMBIA	61	21	118	40	115	39	294
DEPAUL	26	8	125	42	149	50	300
EAST-WEST	37	45	42	51	3	4	82
ELMHURST	0	0	29	9	312	91	341
GOVERNOR'S ST.	15	4	206	59	127	37	348
ILL. BENEDICT.	4	4	5	6	81	90	90
I.I.T.	15	14	47	37	63	49	128
LEWIS	7	4	37	21	130	75	174
LOYOLA	12	5	47	22	159	73	218
MUNDELEIN	8	10	37	46	35	44	80
NAT'L. COLL. ED.	17	21	14	17	50	62	81
NORTH CENTRAL	0	0	3	4	78	96	81
NORTHEASTERN	39	6	325	51	272	43	636
ROOSEVELT	21	9	101	43	113	48	235
ST. XAVIER	21	11	52	28	116	61	189
UI-CHICAGO	75	7	410	38	581	55	1066
TOTAL	667	14	1764	36	2505	50	4936
OTHER 4-YEAR	12	3	63	15	335	82	410
METRO TOTAL	679	13	1827	34	2840	53	5346
OUTSIDE METRO							
MAJOR UNIVER.	42	1	413	13	2634	86	3089
OTHER 4-YEAR	6	4	25	18	108	78	139
NONMETRO TOTAL	48	1	438	14	2742	85	3228
GRAND TOTAL	727	8	2265	26	5582	66	8574

In Tables 133 and 134, the most compelling figure is the number and percentage of transfers from minority colleges to Chicago State University. It receives almost five times more students than the next institution and over twice as many as all other public universities in the metropolitan area.

The most important destination for transfers from integrated schools is U of I at Chicago (18%). White schools send 19% of their transfers to Northern Illinois University. This is a striking pattern of channeling within a highly diversified system of higher education.

TABLE 134

PERCENTAGES OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY, INTEGRATED AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH LARGE RECIPIENT IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

METRO CHICAGO	% OF MINORITY	% OF INTEGRATED	% OF WHITE	% OF TOTAL
AURORA	.4	.1	1.8	1.2
CHICAGO STATE	41.7	7.2	3.9	5.7
COLUMBIA	8.4	5.2	2.1	3.4
DEPAUL	3.6	5.5	2.7	3.5
EAST-WEST	5.1	1.9	.1	1.0
ELMHURST	.0	1.3	5.6	4.0
GOVERNOR'S ST	2.1	9.1	2.3	4.1
ILL. BENEDICT.	.6	.2	1.5	1.0
I.I.T.	2.5	2.1	1.1	1.5
LEWIS	1.0	1.6	2.3	2.0
LOYOLA	1.7	2.1	2.8	1.1
MUNDELEIN	1.1	1.6	.6	.9
NAT'L. COLL. ED.	2.3	.6	.9	.9
NORTH CENTRAL	.0	.1	1.4	.9
NORTHEASTERN	5.4	14.3	4.9	7.4
ROOSEVELT	2.9	5.0	2.0	2.7
ST. AUGUSTINE*	.1	.6	---	.2
UI-CHICAGO	10.3	18.1	10.4	12.4
TOTAL	91.7	77.9	44.9	57.6
OTHER 4-YEAR	1.7	2.8	6.0	4.8
METRO TOTAL	93.4	80.7	50.9	62.4
OUTSIDE METRO				
MAJOR UNIVER.	5.8	18.2	47.2	36.0
OTHER 4-YEAR	.8	1.1	1.9	1.6
NONMETRO TTL	6.6	19.3	49.1	37.6
GRAND TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE: (---) LESS THAN .1 PERCENT.

Another interesting observation is the difference in the areas to which the groups transfer. About 93% of transfers from minority institutions are within the Chicago metropolitan area, as are 81% from integrated, and only 51% from white institutions. The difference is even greater when considering just the colleges in Chicago-86%, 66%, and 29%, respectively. Students from the white and integrated colleges appear to have many more options for transfer. Students in minority community colleges are virtually cut off from suburban and downstate colleges.

One final note is the fairly even distribution of transfers in the integrated and white groups. Just three colleges account for 60% of all transfers from minority colleges, whereas six do from integrated colleges and seven do from white colleges. Table 135 lists the top 10 colleges for each category and their cumulative totals in percentages of transfers.

TABLE 135

TOP 10 RECIPIENTS OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY, INTEGRATED AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSITUTIONS IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

MINORITY			INTEGRATED			WHITE		
SCHOOL	%	CUM.%	SCHOOL	%	CUM.%	SCHOOL	%	CUM.%
CHICAGO ST.	41.7	41.7	UI-CHICAGO	18.1	18.1	NIU	19.3	19.3
UI-CHICAGO	10.3	52.0	N'EASTERN	14.3	32.4	UI-CHICAGO	10.4	29.7
COLUMBIA	8.4	60.4	GOVNRS ST.	9.1	41.5	ISU	7.6	37.3
N'EASTERN	5.4	65.9	CHICAGO ST.	7.2	48.7	SIU-CARB	7.0	44.3
EAST-WEST	5.1	71.0	DEPAUL	5.5	54.2	ELMHURST	5.6	49.9
DEPAUL	3.6	74.6	COLUMBIA	5.2	59.4	N'EASTERN	4.9	54.8
ROOSEVELT	2.9	77.5	ROOSEVELT	5.0	64.4	WESTERN	4.9	59.7
ST. XAVIER	2.9	80.4	SIU-CARB	5.0	69.4	UI-URBANA	4.1	63.8
I.I.T.	2.5	82.9	NIU	4.3	73.7	CHICAGO ST.	3.9	67.7
NAT'L COL ED	2.3	85.2	ISU	3.3	77.0	EASTERN	3.7	71.4

Transfers to the remaining private four-year institutions in the Chicago metropolitan area are in Table 136. Not surprisingly, the white colleges, which are all suburban, send many more students to the suburban private colleges than the other two categories which are primarily urban. White colleges transfer three times larger a percentage of students to these private colleges than do the other two types of minority or integrated community colleges.

The breakdown of transfers to the major public universities and two private universites outside the Chicago metropolitan area appears in Table 138. Obviously, the white colleges' transfer rates are far larger than either of the other two in absolute and percentage terms. This really points out the greater mobility of many suburban students. The total lack of transfers to the U of I at Urbana, the state's only nationally ranked public university, by minority colleges is also very significant.

Northern Illinois University is by far the most popular destination of transfers from white colleges. A very large proportion (68%) of the NIU transfers are from the community colleges nearest it--DuPage, Harper, Lake, Elgin, Waubonsee, and McHenry.

TABLE 136

VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY, INTEGRATED AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA TO OTHER CHICAGO AREA FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

SMSA CHICAGO	MINORITY	%	INTEGRATED	%	WHITE	%	TOTAL
BARAT	0	0	2	7	26	93	28
ST. FRANCIS	0	0	6	8	67	92	73
CONCORDIA	0	0	3	13	20	87	23
DELOURDES	0	0	1	17	5	83	6
GEORGE WILLIAMS	7	9	4	5	65	86	76
JUDSON	0	0	1	7	13	93	14
KENDALL	1	5	7	33	13	62	21
LAKE FOREST	0	0	2	12	15	88	17
MALLINCKRODT	0	0	0	0	14	100	14
NORTH PARK	0	0	4	50	4	50	8
NORTHWESTERN		NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE					
ROSARY	1	1	12	16	61	83	74
ST. AUGUSTINE*	1	6	14	82	2	12	17
SHIMER	0	0	0	0	2	100	2
TRINITY	0	0	1	20	4	80	5
TRINITY CHRSTN	2	8	4	17	18	75	24
U. OF CHICAGO	0	0	2	50	2	50	4
WHEATON	0	0	0	0	4	100	4
TOTAL	12	3	63	15	335	82	410

NOTE: (*) TWO-YEAR COLLEGE

Transfers from White and Minority Insitutions in Chicago

This part of the study analyzes the transfer patterns from Chicago's nine two-year colleges, eight public and one private. They are divided into two groups--white colleges are defined for this section as 50% or more white, and minority colleges are 50% or more minority. Four colleges are in the white category--City-Wide, Daley, Truman, and Wright. Five are in the minority category--Kennedy-King, Loop, MacCormac, Malcolm X, and Olive-Harvey. As Table 140 shows, the inclusion of Loop and MacCormac in the minority category has raised the transfer percentage of minority colleges relative to the percentage in Table 132.

The two groups send about equal numbers of students to most colleges, with several very significant exceptions. Minority colleges account for 86% and 81% of the transfers to Chicago State and East-West University, respectively, while white colleges account for 76% of Northeastern Illinois University transfers. In part this

TABLE 137

PERCENTAGE OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY, INTEGRATED AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTION FOR FALL 1982

SMSA CHICAGO	% OF MINORITY	% OF INTEGRATED	% OF WHITE	% OF TOTAL
BARAT	.0	.1	.5	.3
ST. FRANCIS	.0	.3	1.2	.9
CONCORDIA	.0	.1	.4	.1
DELOURDES	.0	---	.1	.1
GEORGE WILLIAMS	1.0	.2	1.2	.9
JUDSON	.0	---	.2	.2
KENDALL	.1	.3	.2	.2
LAKE FOREST	.0	.1	.3	.2
MALLINCKRODT	.0	.0	.3	.2
NORTH PARK	.0	.2	.1	.1
NORTHWESTERN	NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE			
ROSARY	.1	.5	1.1	.9
ST. XAVIER	2.9	2.3	2.1	2.2
SHIMER	.0	.0	---	---
TRINITY	.0	---	.1	.1
TRINITY CHRSTN	.3	.2	.3	.3
U. OF CHICAGO	.0	.1	---	---
WHEATON	.0	.0	.1	---
TOTAL	1.7	2.8	6.0	4.8

NOTE: (---) LESS THAN .1 PERCENT.

TABLE 138

VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY, INTEGRATED AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA TO DOWNSTATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	MINORITY	%	INTEGRATED	%	WHITE	%	TOTAL
AUGUSTANA	2	9	3	13	18	78	23
BRADLEY	1	2	7	11	57	87	65
EASTERN	6	2	49	12	204	79	259
ISU	9	2	75	15	424	83	508
NIU	3	-	98	8	1080	92	1181
SANGAMON ST.	1	14	2	29	4	57	7
SIU-CARB.	11	2	113	22	388	76	512
SIU-EDW.	3	9	11	34	18	57	32
UI-URBANA	0	0	18	7	231	93	249
WESTERN	8	3	40	14	228	83	276
ALL OTHERS	4	3	22	19	90	78	116
UNIVERSITIES	42	1	413	13	2634	86	3089
NONMETRO TOTAL	48	1	438	14	2742	85	3228

TABLE 139

PERCENTAGE OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY, INTEGRATED AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH DOWNSTATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTION FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	% OF MINORITY	% OF INTEGRATED	% OF WHITE	% OF TOTAL
AUGUSTANA	.3	.1	.3	.3
BRADLEY	.1	.3	1.0	.8
EASTERN	.8	2.2	3.7	3.0
ISU	1.2	3.3	7.6	5.9
NIU	.4	4.3	19.3	13.8
SANGAMON ST.	.1	.1	.1	.1
SIU-CARB.	1.5	5.0	7.0	6.0
SIU-EDW.	.4	.5	.3	.4
UI-URBANA	.0	.8	4.1	2.9
WESTERN	1.1	1.8	4.9	3.2
ALL OTHERS	.3	1.0	1.6	1.3
MAJOR UNIVER.	5.8	18.2	47.2	30.0
NONMETRO TOTAL	6.6	19.3	49.1	37.6

TABLE 140

PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO TO FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS

SCHOOL TYPE	*TRANSFERS*	HEADCOUNT *BACCALAUREATE*	%	FTE *BACCALAUREATE*	%
MINORITY	1161	11,562	10.0	7,431	15.6
WHITE	1181	8,938	13.2	4,584	25.8
TOTAL	2341	20,500	11.4	12,015	19.5

is a result of particular community colleges' proximity, but the degree of concentration is far more than would be expected. Chicago State and Northeastern are two of the least selective colleges and the two types of institutions send 33% and 23% of their transfers respectively to them.

Another significant difference is the U of I at Chicago, to which white colleges account for 64% of the transfers from city community colleges. The expectation would be that the two types of colleges would have sent fairly equal numbers of students.

The percentages of transfers to each college appear in Table 142. The cumulative percentages for the top 10 colleges are shown in Table 143.

Both white and minority colleges transfer most of their students within the metropolitan area and very few outside, although white colleges do so at a slightly higher rate.

TABLE 141

LARGEST RECIPIENTS OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

METRO CHICAGO	MINORITY	%	WHITE	%	TOTAL
CHICAGO STATE	386	86	61	14	447
COLUMBIA	84	53	76	47	160
DEPAUL	55	46	65	45	120
EAST-WEST	62	81	15	19	77
ELMHURST	6	26	17	74	23
GOVERNOR'S ST.	23	46	27	54	50
I.I.T.	26	45	32	55	58
LEWIS	9	35	17	65	26
LOYOLA	22	42	30	58	52
MUNDELEIN	20	51	19	49	39
NAT'L. COLL. ED.	19	70	8	30	27
NORTH CENTRAL	1	100	0	0	1
NORTHEASTERN	87	24	274	76	361
ROOSEVELT	64	59	45	41	109
ROSARY	3	27	8	73	11
ST. AUGUSTINE*	3	21	11	79	14
ST. XAVIER	29	45	36	55	65
UI-CHICAGO	153	36	274	64	427
TOTAL	1052	51	1015	49	2067
OTHER 4-YEAR	23	47	26	53	49
METRO TOTAL	1075	51	1041	49	2116
OUTSIDE METRO					
MAJOR UNIVER.	74	36	129	64	203
OTHER 4-YEAR	11	50	11	50	22
NONMETRO TOTAL	85	38	140	62	225
GRAND TOTAL	1160	50	1181	50	2341

NOTE: (*) TWO-YEAR INSTITUTION

Transfers outside the Chicago area (See Tables 144 and 145) contain few surprises. Only transfers to Northern Illinois University are heavily from the white schools. The lack of transfers to the U of I at Urbana from minority colleges is again a very significant fact.

Suburban and City Community College Transfers

This section is divided into two parts with one part comparing suburban and city colleges and the second comparing white city to white suburban colleges. The first part is intended to examine

TABLE 142

PERCENTAGES OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH INSTITUTION IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

METRO CHICAGO	% OF MINORITY	% OF WHITE	% OF TOTAL
CHICAGO STATE	33.3	5.2	19.0
COLUMBIA	7.2	6.4	6.8
DEPAUL	4.7	5.5	5.1
EAST-WEST	5.3	1.3	3.3
ELMHURST	.5	1.4	1.0
GOVERNOR'S ST.	2.0	2.3	2.1
I.I.T.	2.2	2.7	2.5
LEWIS	.8	1.4	1.1
LOYOLA	1.9	2.5	2.2
MUNDELEIN	1.7	1.6	1.7
NAT'L. COLL. ED.	1.6	.7	1.2
NORTH CENTRAL	.1	.0	---
NORTHEASTERN	7.5	23.2	15.4
ROOSEVELT	5.5	3.8	4.7
ROSARY	.3	.7	.5
ST. AUGUSTINE*	.3	.9	.6
ST. XAVIER	2.5	3.0	2.8
UI-CHICAGO	13.2	23.2	18.2
TOTAL	90.7	85.9	88.3
OTHER 4-YEAR	2.0	2.2	2.1
METRO TOTAL	92.7	88.1	90.4
OUTSIDE METRO			
MAJOR UNIVER.	6.4	10.9	8.7
OTHER 4-YEAR	.9	.9	.9
NONMETRO TOTAL	7.3	11.9	9.6
GRAND TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE: (---) LESS THAN .1 PERCENT.
(*) TWO-YEAR INSTITUTION

whether there are overall differences between the city and suburbs and the second part to see if the same differences hold for white colleges in the two areas. The summary of transfers for city and suburban colleges in Table 146 and reveals that there is a modestly higher overall suburban transfer rate.

Chicago community colleges account for 91% of transfers to Chicago State and 94% to East-West, while the suburbs send 99% of the transfers to North Central, 88% to Lake Forest, 86% to Governors State and 82% to Lewis. Percentage figures can be misleading,

TABLE 143

TOP 10 RECIPIENTS OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

MINORITY			WHITE		
SCHOOL	%	CUM.%	SCHOOL	%	CUM.%
CHICAGO ST.	33.3	33.3	NORTHEASTERN	23.2	23.2
UI-CHICAGO	13.2	46.5	UI-CHICAGO	23.2	46.4
NORTHEASTERN	7.5	54.0	COLUMBIA	6.4	52.8
COLUMBIA	7.2	61.2	DEPAUL	5.5	58.3
ROOSEVELT	5.5	66.7	CHICAGO ST.	5.2	63.5
EAST-WEST	5.3	72.0	SIU-CARB	4.0	67.5
DEPAUL	4.7	76.7	ROOSEVELT	3.8	71.3
ST. XAVIER	2.5	79.2	NIU	3.0	74.3
I.I.T.	2.2	81.4	ST. XAVIER	3.0	77.3
SIU-CARB	2.1	83.5	I.I.T.	2.7	80.0

TABLE 144

VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO TO DOWNSTATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	MINORITY	%	WHITE	%	TOTAL
AUGUSTANA	2	50	2	50	4
BRADLEY	2	67	1	33	3
EASTERN	9	56	7	44	16
ISU	11	48	12	52	23
NIU	9	20	36	80	45
SANGAMON ST.	3	100	0	0	3
SIU-CARB.	24	34	47	66	71
SIU-EDW.	6	67	3	33	9
UI-URBANA	0	0	8	100	8
WESTERN	10	40	15	60	25
ALL OTHERS	9	50	9	50	18
MAJOR UNIVER.	74	36	129	64	203
NONMETRO TOTAL	85	38	140	62	225

however, in that the city sends far fewer transfers overall than the suburbs. Table 148 gives the percentage from each group that transfers to a college. When those figures are examined the city transfers still more to Chicago State and East-West. In all other cases the city transfers as many as or more than the suburban colleges to metropolitan area colleges.

This comparison does not hold outside the metropolitan area, however, as Tables 149 and 150 reveal. There the percentages

TABLE 145

PERCENTAGE OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM MINORITY AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH DOWNSTATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTION FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	% OF MINORITY	% OF WHITE	% OF TOTAL
AUGUSTANA	.2	.2	.2
BRADLEY	.2	.1	.1
EASTERN	.8	.6	.7
ISU	.9	1.0	1.0
NIU	.8	3.0	1.9
SANGAMON ST.	.3	.0	.1
SIU-CARB.	2.1	4.0	3.0
SIU-EDW.	.5	.3	.4
UI-URBANA	.0	.7	.3
WESTERN	.9	1.3	1.1
ALL OTHERS	.7	.7	.7
MAJOR UNIVER.	6.4	10.9	8.7
NONMETRO TOTAL	7.3	11.9	9.6

TABLE 146

PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS

SCHOOL TYPE	*TRANSFERS*	HEADCOUNT *BACCALAUREATS*	%	FTE *BACCALAUREATE*	%
CITY	2341	20,500	11.4	12,015	19.5
SUBURBS	6233	47,862	13.0	27,125	23.0
TOTAL	8574	68,362	12.5	39,140	21.9

greatly favor the suburban colleges for almost every institution. The suburban colleges also send far more students, over five times as many in percentages, than the city colleges do to universities outside metropolitan Chicago.

The colleges in the city transfer 83% of their students within the city while the suburbs send only 29% to the city though there are a number of large institutions within Chicago. The suburbs transfer 23% within the suburbs and the city only 8%.

All but one of the colleges receiving most suburban students are public universities. Six of the city's leading transfer-receiving schools are private colleges. The lack of private colleges on the suburban side is still somewhat surprising.

A comparison of the white city colleges with the white suburban colleges shows a slightly different result than comparing all the city colleges to suburban colleges. Table 154 shows that white city

TABLE 147

LARGEST RECIPIENTS OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

METRO CHICAGO	CITY	%	SUBURBS	%	TOTAL
AURORA	5	5	99	95	104
CHICAGO STATE	447	91	42	9	489
COLUMBIA	160	54	134	46	294
DEPAUL	120	40	180	60	300
EAST-WEST	77	94	5	6	82
ELMHURST	23	7	318	93	341
GOVERNOR'S ST.	50	14	298	86	348
ILL. BENEDICT.	8	9	822	91	90
I.I.T.	58	45	70	55	128
LEWIS	26	18	148	82	174
LOYOLA	52	24	166	76	218
MUNDELEIN	39	49	41	51	80
NAT'L. COLL. ED.	27	33	54	67	81
NORTH CENTRAL	1	1	80	99	81
NORTHEASTERN	361	57	275	43	636
ROOSEVELT	109	46	126	54	235
ST. XAVIER	65	34	124	66	189
UI-CHICAGO	427	40	639	60	1066
TOTAL	2055	42	2881	58	4936
OTHER 4-YEAR	61	15	349	85	410
METRO TOTAL	2116	40	3230	60	5346
OUTSIDE METRO					
MAJOR UNIVER.	203	7	2886	93	3089
OTHER 4-YEAR	22	16	117	84	139
NONMETRO TOTAL	225	7	3003	93	3228
GRAND TOTAL	2341	27	62[illegible]3	73	8574

colleges are actually doing slightly better than their suburban counterparts. The difference, using headcount, is really almost non-existent from a statistical standpoint, but it indicates that the white city colleges are doing at least as well as the suburban colleges in percent of students transferring.

The breakdown of the transfers to major institutions in Chicago metropolitan area shows few transfers from the white city colleges to the more selective suburban private colleges such as North Central and Lake Forest.

Tables 156 and 158 show that both black and white city colleges send a much higher proportion within the metropolitan area. It was

TABLE 148

PERCENTAGES OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH LARGE RECIPIENT IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

METRO CHICAGO	% OF CITY	% OF SUBURBS	% OF TOTAL
AURORA	.2	1.6	1.2
CHICAGO STATE	19.0	.7	5.7
COLUMBIA	6.8	2.1	3.4
DEPAUL	5.1	2.9	3.5
EAST-WEST	3.3	.1	1.0
ELMHURST	1.0	5.1	4.0
GOVERNOR'S ST.	2.1	4.8	4.1
ILL. BENEDICT.	.3	1.3	1.0
I.I.T.	2.5	1.1	1.5
LEWIS	1.1	2.4	2.0
LOYOLA	2.2	2.7	2.5
MUNDELEIN	1.7	.7	.9
NAT'L. COLL. ED.	1.2	.9	.9
NORTH CENTRAL	---	1.3	.9
NORTHEASTERN	15.4	4.4	7.4
ROOSEVELT	4.7	2.0	2.7
ST. XAVIER	2.8	2.0	2.2
UI-CHICAGO	18.2	10.3	12.4
TOTAL	87.8	46.2	57.6
OTHER 4-YEAR	2.6	5.6	4.8
METRO TOTAL	90.4	51.8	62.4
OUTSIDE METRO			
MAJOR UNIVER.	8.7	46.3	36.0
OTHER 4-YEAR	.9	1.9	1.6
NONMETRO TOTAL	9.6	48.2	37.6
GRAND TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE: (---) LESS THAN .1 PERCENT.

expected that the mobility of transferees to downstate colleges from white city colleges would be much closer to that of suburban transferees but this expectation was not really realized. The rate is not significantly higher and not even close to the rate of suburban colleges. The differences between the city and suburban white colleges are especially noteworthy for U of I at Urbana in this respect.

The end result is that while the white colleges in Chicago are doing as well as the suburban colleges in transferring, the city colleges do so in a much more restricted area. Both white and black

TABLE 149

VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA TO DOWNSTATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	CITY	%	SUBURBAN	%	TOTAL
AUGUSTANA	4	17	19	83	23
BRADLEY	3	5	62	95	65
EASTERN	16	6	243	94	259
ISU	23	5	485	95	508
NIU	45	4	1136	96	1181
SANGAMON ST.	3	43	4	57	7
SIU-CARB.	71	14	441	86	512
SIU-EDW.	9	28	23	72	32
UI-URBANA	8	3	241	97	249
WESTERN	25	9	251	91	275
ALL OTHERS	18	16	98	84	116
MAJOR UNIVER.	203	7	2886	93	3089
NONMETRO TOTAL	225	7	3003	93	3228

TABLE 150

PERCENTAGE OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH DOWNSTATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTION FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	% OF CITY	% OF SUBURBAN	% OF TOTAL
AUGUSTANA	.2	.3	.3
BRADLEY	.1	1.0	.8
EASTERN	.7	3.9	3.0
ISU	1.0	7.8	5.9
NIU	1.9	18.2	13.8
SANGAMON ST.	.1	.1	.1
SIU-CARB.	3.0	8.2	6.0
SIU-EDW.	.4	.5	.4
UI-URBANA	.3	4.0	2.9
WESTERN	1.1	4.4	3.2
ALL OTHERS	.7	1.6	1.3
MAJOR UNIVER.	8.7	46.3	36.0
NONMETRO TOTAL	9.6	48.2	37.6

students in city colleges appear to have much less access to downstate colleges, particularly the University of Illinois' main campus.

TABLE 151

VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA TO OTHER CHICAGO AREA FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

SMSA CHICAGO	CITY	%	SUBURBAN	%	TOTAL
BARAT	2	7	26	93	28
ST. FRANCIS	3	4	70	96	73
CONCORDIA	3	13	20	87	23
DELOURDES	1	17	5	83	6
GEORGE WILLIAMS	8	11	68	89	76
JUDSON	1	7	13	93	14
KENDALL	7	33	14	67	21
LAKE FOREST	2	12	15	88	17
MALLINCKRODT	0	0	14	100	14
NORTH PARK	4	50	4	50	8
NORTHWESTERN	NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE				
ROSARY	11	15	63	85	74
ST. AUGUSTINE*	14	82	13	18	17
SHIMER	0	0	2	100	2
TRINITY	1	20	4	80	5
TRINITY CHRSTN	3	13	21	87	24
U. OF CHICAGO	1	25	3	75	4
WHEATON	0	0	4	100	4
TOTAL	61	15	349	85	410

NOTE: (*) TWO-YEAR INSTITUTION

Transfers from DuPage County and Chicago

This part contrasts the colleges within the city of Chicago with the College of DuPage. DuPage County was chosen because it is almost a polar opposite of the city in terms of income, race, and other characteristics and is at the center of economic growth in metropolitan Chicago. Not surprisingly, College of DuPage also had the highest transfer rate of any community college in the metropolitan area on a headcount basis.

The transfer percentages in Table 159 for the two groups show DuPage with a rate twice that of the city colleges for headcount and somewhat less than double for the FTE percentages. The comparison is somewhat one-sided since there is only one community college in DuPage compared to nine in the city, but the difference is still quite significant. Richard J. Daley College approaches the DuPage figure, 22.78%, for headcount, but it is also much smaller than College of DuPage.

TABLE 152

PERCENTAGE OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTION FOR FALL 1982

SMSA CHICAGO	% OF CITY	% OF SUBURBAN	% OF TOTAL
BARAT	.1	.4	.3
ST. FRANCIS	.1	1.1	.9
CONCORDIA	.1	.3	.1
DELOURDES	---	.1	.1
GEORGE WILLIAMS	.3	1.1	.9
JUDSON	---	.2	.2
KENDALL	.3	.2	.2
LAKE FOREST	.1	.2	.2
MALLINCKRODT	.0	.2	.2
NORTH PARK	.2	.1	.1
NORTHWESTERN	NO INFORMATION AVAILABLE		
ROSARY	.5	1.1	.9
ST. AUGUSTINE*	.6	---	.2
SHIMER	.0	---	---
TRINITY	.0	.1	.1
TRINITY CHRSTN	.1	.3	.3
U. OF CHICAGO	---	---	---
WHEATON	.0	.1	---
TOTAL	2.6	5.6	4.8

NOTE: (---) LESS THAN .1 PERCENT.

(*) TWO-YEAR COLLEGE.

TABLE 153

TOP 10 RECIPIENTS OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA TO OTHER CHICAGO AREA FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

CITY			SUBURBS		
SCHOOL	%	CUM.%	SCHOOL	%	CUM.%
CHICAGO ST.	19.0	19.0	NIU	18.2	18.2
UI-CHICAGO	18.2	37.2	UI-CHICAGO	10.3	28.5
NORTHEASTERN	15.4	52.6	SIU-CARB	8.2	36.7
COLUMBIA	6.8	59.4	ISU	7.8	44.5
DEPAUL	5.1	64.5	ELMHURST	5.1	49.6
ROOSEVELT	4.7	69.2	GOVERNORS ST.	4.8	54.4
EAST-WEST	3.3	72.5	NORTHEASTERN	4.4	58.8
SIU-CARB	3.0	75.5	WESTERN	4.4	63.2
ST. XAVIER	2.8	78.3	UI-URBANA	4.0	67.2
I.I.T.	2.5	80.8	EASTERN	3.9	71.1

In the breakdown of transfers to the major colleges in the

TABLE 154

PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COLLEGES

SCHOOL TYPE	*TRANSFERS*	HEADCOUNT *BACCALAUREATE*	%	FTE *BACCALAUREATE*	%
CITY	1181	8,938	13.2	4,584	25.8
SUBURBAN	6233	47,862	13.0	27,125	23.0
TOTAL	7414	56,800	13.1	31,709	23.4

TABLE 155

LARGEST RECIPIENTS OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM WHITE CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

METRO CHICAGO	CITY	%	SUBURBS	%	TOTAL
AURORA	2	2	99	98	101
CHICAGO STATE	61	59	42	41	103
COLUMBIA	76	36	134	64	211
DEPAUL	65	27	180	73	245
EAST-WEST	15	75	5	25	20
ELMHURST	17	5	318	95	335
GOVERNOR'S ST.	27	8	298	92	325
ILL. BENEDICT.	2	2	82	98	84
I.I.T.	32	31	70	69	102
LEWIS	17	10	148	90	165
LOYOLA	30	15	166	85	196
MUNDELEIN	19	32	41	68	60
NAT'L. COLL. ED.	8	13	54	87	62
NORTH CENTRAL	0	0	80	100	80
NORTHEASTERN	274	50	275	50	549
ROOSEVELT	45	26	126	74	171
ST. XAVIER	36	23	124	77	160
UI-CHICAGO	274	30	639	70	913
TOTAL	1000	26	2881	74	3881
OTHER 4-YEAR	41	11	349	89	390
METRO TOTAL	1041	24	3230	76	4271
OUTSIDE METRO					
MAJOR UNIVER.	129	4	2886	96	3015
OTHER 4-YEAR	11	9	117	91	128
NONMETRO TOTAL	140	4	3003	96	3143
GRAND TOTAL	1181	16	6233	84	7414

Chicago area, several important items stand out immediately (See Table 160). DuPage sends no students to Chicago State or East-West

TABLE 156

PERCENTAGES OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM WHITE CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH INSTITUTION IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

METRO CHICAGO	% OF CITY	% OF SUBURBS	% OF TOTAL
AURORA	.2	1.6	1.4
CHICAGO STATE	5.2	.7	1.4
COLUMBIA	6.4	2.1	2.8
DEPAUL	5.5	2.9	3.3
EAST-WEST	1.3	.1	.3
ELMHURST	1.4	5.1	4.5
GOVERNOR'S ST.	2.3	4.8	4.4
ILL. BENEDICT.	.2	1.3	1.1
I.I.T.	2.7	1.1	1.4
LEWIS	1.4	2.4	2.2
LOYOLA	2.5	2.7	2.6
MUNDELEIN	1.6	.7	.8
NAT'L. COLL. ED.	.7	.9	.8
NORTH CENTRAL	---	1.3	1.1
NORTHEASTERN	23.2	4.4	7.4
ROOSEVELT	3.8	2.0	2.3
ST. XAVIER	3.0	2.0	2.2
UI-CHICAGO	23.2	10.3	12.3
TOTAL	84.7	46.2	52.3
OTHER 4-YEAR	3.5	5.6	5.4
METRO TOTAL	88.2	51.8	57.6
OUTSIDE METRO			
MAJOR UNIVER.	10.9	46.3	40.7
OTHER 4-YEAR	.9	1.9	1.7
NONMETRO TOTAL	11.9	48.2	42.4
GRAND TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE: (---) LESS THAN .1 PERCENT.

and almost none to Northeastern or Roosevelt. It also sends very few to IIT and Governors State.

DuPage has a very high transfer rate to Elmhurst which accounts for 12% of all transfers from DuPage. The community college serves as a major feeder for this competitive private college DuPage.

Comparison of the top ten colleges in terms of transfers shows that there are only two colleges which appear on both lists. The city and DuPage County send their students to very different places.

The pattern of transfers to the major colleges outside Chicago in Tables 163 and 164 shows that in almost every case DuPage sends a

TABLE 157

VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM INTEGRATED CITY AND WHITE SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN THE CHICAGO AREA TO DOWNSTATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	CITY	%	SUBURBAN	%	TOTAL
AUGUSTANA	2	10	19	90	21
BRADLEY	1	2	62	98	63
EASTERN	7	3	243	97	250
ISU	12	2	485	98	497
NIU	36	3	1136	97	1172
SANGAMON ST.	0	0	4	100	4
SIU-CARB.	47	11	441	89	488
SIU-EDW.	3	12	23	88	26
UI-URBANA	8	3	241	97	249
WESTERN	15	6	251	94	266
ALL OTHERS	9	8	98	92	107
MAJOR UNIVER.	129	4	2886	96	3015
NONMETRO TOTAL	140	4	3003	96	3143

TABLE 158

PERCENTAGE OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM INTEGRATED CITY AND WHITE SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH DOWNSTATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTION FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	% OF CITY	% OF SUBURBAN	% OF TOTAL
AUGUSTANA	.2	.3	.3
BRADLEY	.1	1.0	.8
EASTERN	.6	3.9	3.4
ISU	1.0	7.8	6.7
NIU	3.0	18.2	15.8
SANGAMON ST.	.0	.1	.1
SIU-CARB.	4.0	8.2	6.6
SIU-EDW.	.3	.5	.4
UI-URBANA	.7	4.0	3.4
WESTERN	1.3	4.4	3.6
ALL OTHERS	.7	1.6	1.4
MAJOR UNIVER.	10.9	46.3	40.7
NONMETRO TOTAL	11.9	48.2	42.4

much higher proportion of its students than the city colleges do. DuPage sends thirteen times as many transfers to the U of I at Urbana, eleven times as many to NIU, and nine times as many to Bradley. Quite clearly, students from DuPage are more likely to venture much farther afield than Chicago students and have a far better chance of transferring to the state's leading public university.

TABLE 159

PERCENTAGE OF TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND DUPAGE COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS

SCHOOL TYPE	*TRANSFERS*	HEADCOUNT *BACCALAUREATE*	%	FTE *BACCALAUREATE*	%
CITY	2341	20,500	11.4	12,015	19.5
DUPAGE	1093	4,135	26.4	3,191	34.3
TOTAL	3434	24,635	13.9	15,206	22.6

TABLE 160

LARGEST RECIPIENTS OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND DUPAGE COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

METRO CHICAGO	CITY	%	DUPAGE	%	TOTAL
CHICAGO STATE	447	100	0	0	447
COLUMBIA	160	86	25	14	185
DEPAUL	120	85	22	15	142
EAST-WEST	77	100	0	0	77
ELMHURST	23	15	131	85	154
GEORGE WILMS.	8	21	31	79	39
GOVERNOR'S ST.	50	94	3	6	53
ILL. BENEDICT.	8	15	44	85	52
I.I.T.	58	92	5	8	63
LEWIS	26	51	25	49	51
LOYOLA	52	68	25	32	77
MUNDELEIN	39	93	3	7	42
NAT'L. COLL. ED.	27	61	17	39	44
NORTH CENTRAL	1	2	60	98	61
NORTHEASTERN	361	99	5	1	366
ROOSEVELT	109	94	7	6	116
ST. XAVIER	65	98	1	2	66
UI-CHICAGO	427	78	122	22	549
TOTAL	2058	80	526	20	2584
OTHER 4-YEAR	58	63	34	37	92
METRO TOTAL	2116	79	560	21	2676
OUTSIDE METRO					
MAJOR UNIVER.	203	28	522	72	725
OTHER 4-YEAR	22	67	11	33	33
NONMETRO TOTAL	225	30	533	70	758
GRAND TOTAL	2341	68	1093	32	3434

Relative Quality of Transfers from Community Colleges

TABLE 161

PERCENTAGES OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND DUPAGE COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGES ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH INSTITUTION IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

METRO CHICAGO	% OF CITY	% OF DUPAGE	% OF TOTAL
CHICAGO STATE	19.0	.0	13.0
COLUMBIA	6.8	2.3	5.4
DEPAUL	5.1	2.0	4.1
EAST-WEST	3.3	.0	2.2
ELMHURST	1.0	12.0	4.5
GEORGE WLMS.	.3	2.8	1.1
GOVERNOR'S ST.	2.1	.3	1.5
ILL. BENEDICT.	.3	4.0	1.5
I.I.T.	2.5	.5	1.8
LEWIS	1.1	2.3	1.5
LOYOLA	2.2	2.3	2.2
MUNDELEIN	1.7	.3	1.2
NAT'L. COLL. ED.	1.2	1.6	1.3
NORTH CENTRAL	---	5.5	1.8
NORTHEASTERN	15.4	.5	10.7
ROOSEVELT	4.7	.6	3.4
ST. XAVIER	2.8	.1	1.9
UI-CHICAGO	18.2	11.2	16.0
TOTAL	87.9	48.1	75.2
OTHER 4-YEAR	2.5	3.1	2.7
METRO TOTAL	90.4	51.2	77.9
OUTSIDE METRO			
MAJOR UNIVER.	8.7	47.8	21.1
OTHER 4-YEAR	.9	1.0	1.0
NONMETRO TOTAL	9.6	48.8	22.1
GRAND TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE: (---) LESS THAN .1 PERCENT.

This final section concentrates on the selectivity of the institutions receiving transfers from Chicago area community colleges. The percentage of transfers that go to the more selective colleges is part of the measure of a college's transfer success.

Table 165 gives a breakdown for each community college of what type of four-year institution its students transfer to. They are separated into four groups with the most selective in the first, medium selective in the the second, least selective in the third, and institutions not rated in the fourth. In computing the percentages of transfers in a particular category the base figure did not include the transfers to unrated colleges.

TABLE 162

TOP 10 RECIPIENTS OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND DUPAGE COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA FOR FALL 1982

CITY			DUPAGE		
SCHOOL	%	CUM.%	SCHOOL	%	CUM.%
CHICAGO ST.	19.0	19.0	NIU	21.6	21.6
UI-CHICAGO	18.2	37.2	ELMHURST	12.0	33.6
NORTHEASTERN	15.4	52.6	UI-CHICAGO	11.2	44.8
COLUMBIA	6.8	59.4	SIU-CARB.	8.1	52.9
DEPAUL	5.1	64.5	ISU	6.5	59.4
ROOSEVELT	4.7	69.2	NORTH CENTRAL	5.5	64.9
EAST-WEST	3.3	72.5	ILL. BENEDICTINE	4.0	68.9
SIU-CARB.	3.0	75.5	UI-URBANA	3.9	72.8
ST. XAVIER	2.8	78.3	WESTERN	3.5	76.3
I.I.T.	2.5	80.8	EASTERN	3.0	79.3

TABLE 163

VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND DUPAGE COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO DOWNSTATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	CITY	%	DUPAGE	%	TOTAL
AUGUSTANA	4	100	0	0	4
BRADLEY	3	23	10	77	13
EASTERN	16	33	33	67	49
ISU	23	24	71	76	94
NIU	45	16	236	84	281
SANGAMON ST.	3	100	0	0	3
SIU-CARB.	71	45	88	55	159
SIU-EDW.	9	75	3	25	12
UI-URBANA	8	19	43	81	51
WESTERN	25	40	38	60	63
ALL OTHERS	18	62	11	38	29
MAJOR UNIVER.	203	28	522	72	725
NONMETRO TOTAL	225	30	533	70	758

In examining Table 165 several patterns are immediately apparent. Only one community college in Chicago, Wright, sends more than 1% of its transfers to the most selective four-year institutions while only one suburban college, Morton, sends fewer than 1%. In fact, five out of nine city colleges send no transfers at all to the most selective colleges. For the most part suburban colleges send 3% or more of their students to these colleges. Clearly, students who attend Chicago's community colleges have

TABLE 164

PERCENTAGE OF VERTICAL TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND DUPAGE COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGES ACCOUNTED FOR BY EACH DOWNSTATE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTION FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	% OF CITY	% OF DUPAGE	% OF TOTAL
AUGUSTANA	.2	.0	.1
BRADLEY	.1	.9	.4
EASTERN	.7	3.0	1.4
ISU	1.0	6.5	2.7
NIU	1.9	21.6	8.1
SANGAMON ST.	.1	.0	.1
SIU-CARB.	3.0	8.1	4.6
SIU-EDW.	.4	.3	.3
UI-URBANA	.3	3.9	1.5
WESTERN	1.1	3.5	1.8
ALL OTHERS	.7	1.0	.9
MAJOR UNIVER.	8.7	47.8	21.1
NONMETRO TOTAL	9.6	48.8	22.1

extremely little chance of transferring to the most selective colleges.

The opposite end of the spectrum presents an even starker contrast. All of the city community colleges send at least 10% of their transfers to the least selective colleges. Two send more than half and two others send over 40%. Only two suburban colleges send over 10% of their transfers to the least selective colleges, Oakton and Triton, while most send far less than that. Part of the Oakton and Triton figures can be accounted for by locational factors. All of Oakton's transfers to the least selective colleges and most of Triton's are to Northeastern which is very near to both of them.

Minority colleges send no transfers to the most selective colleges. Integrated colleges send only 1%, and white ones 5%. The most selective colleges accept 3% of all transfers so clearly the suburban colleges are doing well above average. Just as clearly, the chances that a student from a minority college will transfer to one of the most selective colleges are almost nonexistent.

Over 50% of minority college transfers go to the least selective colleges. The average student at a minority college will transfer to one of the least selective colleges--if the student transfers at all. By contrast, integrated colleges send 23% and white colleges 6% to the least selective colleges. Students from integrated colleges are more likely to transfer to the least selective colleges than the average transfer student, but most of

TABLE 165

TRANSFERS BY COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA BY SELECTIVITY OF RECEIVING FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTION FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE	MOST	%	MIDDLE	%	LEAST	%	UNRATED	TOTAL
KENNEDY-KING	0	0	135	48	144	52	14	293
MALCOLM X	0	0	82	56	64	44	15	161
OLIVE-HARVEY	0	0	119	44	141	56	13	273
LOOP	1	--	231	65	124	35	31	387
CITY-WIDE	0	0	89	83	18	17	2	109
TRUMAN	3	1	174	55	139	44	20	336
DALEY	2	1	261	89	30	10	2	295
WRIGHT	5	1	277	64	149	35	10	441
MACCORMAC	0	0	38	84	7	16	1	46
CITY TOTAL	11	1	1406	63	816	36	108	2341
PRAIRIE STATE	6	2	267	96	5	2	1	279
THORNTON	5	1	336	93	21	6	10	372
DUPAGE	50	5	999	92	36	3	8	1093
LAKE COUNTY	28	7	343	89	17	4	8	396
ELGIN	17	7	240	90	9	3	5	271
JOLIET	39	9	403	91	3	--	25	470
MCHENRY	6	4	162	94	4	2	5	177
MORAINE VALLEY	21	3	616	93	26	4	4	667
MORTON	1	1	149	91	13	8	1	164
OAKTON	18	3	414	77	110	20	6	548
TRITON	19	3	568	83	97	14	8	692
WAUBONSEE	10	4	253	95	2	1	5	270
WM. HARPER	42	5	730	90	42	5	20	834
SUBURBAN TOTAL	262	4	5480	90	385	6	106	6233
GRAND TOTAL	273	3	6886	83	1201	14	214	8574

NOTE: THE PERCENTAGE FIGURES ARE CALCULATED USING THE TOTAL TRANSFERS FOR EACH COLLEGE MINUS THE TRANSFERS TO UNRATED COLLEGES. (---) LESS THAN .1 PERCENT.

this is accounted for by the integrated colleges in Chicago. The two suburban integrated colleges send very few students to the least selective colleges.

Table 167 gives the summary figures for minority and integrated colleges in Chicago. The city integrated colleges send almost one-third of their transfers to the least selective colleges which is a very high rate in comparison to the metropolitan average.

Table 168 compares all the city and suburban community colleges. Over one-third of city transfers go to the least

TABLE 166

TRANSFERS BY MINORITY, INTEGRATED, AND WHITE COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA BY SELECTIVITY OF THE RECEIVING FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE TYPE	MOST	%	MIDDLE	%	LEAST	%	UNRATED	TOTAL
MINORITY	0	0	336	49	349	51	42	727
INTEGRATED	22	1	1673	76	493	23	77	2265
WHITE	251	5	4877	89	359	6	95	5582
TOTAL	273	3	6886	83	1201	14	214	8574

SOURCE: PERCENTAGES CALCULATED USING TOTAL TRANSFERS MINUS UNRATED.

TABLE 167

TRANSFERS BY MINORITY AND INTEGRATED COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN CHICAGO BY SELECTIVITY OF THE RECEIVING FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE TYPE	MOST	%	MIDDLE	%	LEAST	%	UNRATED	TOTAL
MINORITY	1	--	605	56	480	44	74	1160
INTEGRATED	10	1	801	70	336	29	34	1181
TOTAL	11	--	1406	63	816	37	108	2341

SOURCE: PERCENTAGES CALCULATED USING TOTAL TRANSFERS MINUS UNRATED.

selective colleges which is six times the rate for the suburban colleges. Suburban colleges are almost nine times more likely to transfer students to the most selective colleges than city colleges. In terms of a student's future career prospects, this difference could be very significant.

TABLE 168

TRANSFERS FROM CITY AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN THE CHICAGO METROPOLITAN AREA BY SELECTIVITY OF RECEIVING FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE TYPE	MOST	%	MIDDLE	%	LEAST	%	UNRATED	TOTAL
CITY	11	--	1406	63	816	37	108	2341
SUBURBAN	262		5480	90	385	6	106	6233
TOTAL	273	3	6886	83	1201	14	214	8574

SOURCE: PERCENTAGES CALCULATED USING TOTAL TRANSFERS MINUS UNRATED.

The integrated City colleges send five times as many students to the least selective colleges as white suburban colleges. They send only one-fifth (using actual not rounded percentages) as many transfers to the most selective.

This difference in the selectivity of institutions to which the two groups send their students is very significant. While

TABLE 169

TRANSFERS FROM INTEGRATED CITY AND WHITE SUBURBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES BY SELECTIVITY OF RECEIVING FOUR YEAR INSTITUTIONS FOR FALL 1982

COLLEGE TYPE	MOST	%	MIDDLE	%	LEAST	%	UNRATED	TOTAL
CITY	10	1	801	70	336	29	34	1181
SUBURBAN	262	4	5480	90	385	6	106	6233
TOTAL	272	4	6281	86	721	10	140	7414

SOURCE: PERCENTAGES CALCULATED USING TOTAL TRANSFERS MINUS UNRATED.

integrated city colleges are able to transfer as large a percentage of their students as the suburban colleges, Chicago colleges do not transfer their students to as selective institutions as the suburban ones.

The implications of this difference in the selectivity of receiving colleges loom very large when added to the earlier findings on transfer rates. Not only do students from Chicago's community colleges, especially students from minority colleges, have a lesser chance of transferring, they have even less chance of transferring to a more selective college. A student in Chicago is having hurdles placed before him at two steps in the transfer process, not just one.

Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of studying transfer data is to determine if community colleges are able to transfer students at rates that are consistent among colleges. The importance increases for minorities who are disproportionately represented in community colleges. For minorities who rely strongly on city colleges it is essential that the community colleges they attend are highly successful at transferring students to four-year institutions. Otherwise, the relative position of minorities to whites will become even worse.

As this section has shown, not only are the predominantly minority colleges less successful than either integrated or predominantly white colleges, they are significantly less so. This implies that minorities in the Chicago area are not catching up to whites and in fact are falling farther behind. From all indications the situation has existed for at least the last five years and very probably before that. There is no reason to believe that the situation will change appreciably in the near future. For minorities this means that equality in access to education and, later, in access to jobs and careers, is not getting any closer.

CHAPTER 14

THE IMPACT OF FINANCIAL AID ON ACCESS AND CHOICE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Financial aid from state and federal sources plays an essential role in ensuring access and choice in higher education in Illinois. Millions of dollars are spent each year through various grant and loan programs in an effort to provide equal opportunity for all to pursue higher education. Without financial aid, many thousands of students would not be in college and thousands more would not be in the school of their choice. Federal, state, institutional, and private sources work toward the goal of eliminating financial barriers to higher education.

Within this system intended to eliminate financial barriers, however, there are additional barriers. The college a student attends, or whether enrollment occurs at all, often hinges on the cost of the institution and the amount of financial aid received to help meet those costs. Thus, the distribution of aid has a strong influence on the distribution of students among the different types of institutions. Lack of access to financial aid can become a barrier to higher education or a device for channeling students to particular institutions.

This chapter studies the financial aid system and its impact on students from different income levels and racial groups. Its concern is with direct student subsidies, not general support for public higher education. It analyzes structural barriers to obtaining financial assistance and the method by which financial aid awards are made. Research to date is reviewed in order to provide the reader with background for understanding the importance of financial aid. The distribution of aid in Illinois and in the Chicago area is then described, with special emphasis on the sources of aid and the types of students and institutions receiving assistance.

An explanation of the difficulties of the financial aid application process follows. This leads into an analysis of the criteria by which the state makes its financial aid decisions, including a description of the earnings and other income assumptions used in the award formula. Finally, the federal contribution to financial assistance to Illinois students is examined and the interdependence of state and federal programs is studied. Discussion of these areas is critical to gaining a complete understanding of the magnitude and importance of the financial aid system in Illinois.

Terms Used in This Chapter

There are four primary types of financial aid: 1) *scholarships*, which are mainly need-based gift assistance that do not have to be paid back; 2) *tuition waivers*, which are gift assistance that does not have to be paid back; 3) *loans*, which are aid payable after student departure from school, and 4) *employment*, which includes work-study programs and on-campus jobs.

The Illinois State Scholarship Commission (ISSC) is a nine-member board appointed by the governor. It administers financial aid programs authorized and funded by state and federal laws. There are two main ISSC programs. First is the *Monetary Award Program* (MAP). This is the primary source of nonrepayable gift aid in the state. It is need-based. Second is the *Illinois Guaranteed Loan Program* (IGLP). Through this program the ISSC administers a federal program to guarantee loans made to postsecondary students by private Illinois lending institutions.

There are five federal programs. First is the *National Direct Student Loan (NDSL)*. This is a low-interest (5%) loan made to undergraduate and graduate students through the financial aid offices at their schools. Second is the *Pell Grant* (formerly the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant), the largest federal student aid program. For undergraduates, these grants provide a "foundation" of aid to which aid from other federal and non federal sources may be added. Third is the *Supplementary Educational Opportunity Grant* (SEOG). This award goes to undergraduates only. It does not have to be paid back. Fourth is the *Guaranteed Student Loan* (GSL), a low-interest loan made to students by a lending institution administered by the state. These loans are insured by the guarantee agency in each state. And fifth is *College Work-Study*, which provides jobs for undergraduate and graduate students to help them earn money to pay for educational expenses. ("The Student Guide: Five Federal Financial Aid Programs, 1983-84." US Dept. of Education and "1982 Report" Illinois State Scholarship Commission.)

Research To Date on the Impact of Financial Aid and Low Tuition

Financial aid and low tuition have been increasingly identified as factors that can help equalize access to and choice among institutions of higher education. Economists have conducted most research to date, using empirical variables such as income, ability, socioeconomic status, and the costs of higher education. Policy issues, including state and federal scholarship programs and the earnings assumptions of the financial aid system, have not been carefully considered in much of this research. Nevertheless, a review of studies is useful as one basis for this research.

Studies indicate that in many instances the availability of aid will determine whether a student can attend college. Furthermore, the effects of aid and tuition on the decision to enroll are not equal across income levels. Statistical modeling has suggested that students from low-income families are more sensitive to changes in the costs of education than middle- or high-income students (Jackson and Weathersby, 1975, p. 625).

From other studies on aid and tuition that exist, Hyde (1977, p. 35) draws three general conclusions. First, a large proportion of aid recipients indicate they would not attend school without the aid. Twenty-five percent of all work-study participants and between 33% and 75% of all grant recipients say that financial assistance determined their choice of institution or decision to attend.

Second, the presence of aid has less of an effect on enrollment than a change in tuition. A $100 increase in tuition is estimated to cause a 1% negative change in the overall enrollment rate; a $100 increase in state grants will increase enrollment by only .6%. One explanation for the different effects may be that changes in tuition affect all students, but information about aid may be difficult to obtain; thus, increased aid does not influence the student's enrollment decision.

Third, grants influence enrollment levels more than loans or work-study programs. New York Survey data shows that grants are twice as effective as either loans or work-study jobs for low- and high-income students in dealing with the effect of tuition changes.

The level of tuition and all types of financial assistance are especially important to the student from a low-income family. Hyde (1977, p. 9) examined the effect of tuition at the institution with the minimum total cost of attendance for the individual (usually a state college of the university nearest his home). He estimates that the rate at which enrollment changes in response to a change in tuition is roughly the same across family income levels except for the bottom 20%. The response to changes in tuition of low-income students is at least twice that at any other income groups. Hence, tuition increases, which have been large in recent years, may discourage or eliminate the possibility of attendance at a higher education institution. Also, Hyde's (1977) analysis of state and federal aid programs shows that (1) the impact of aid on enrollment is greater as income declines, and (2) the relative effectiveness of aid is greater for lower-income than higher-income students.

Jackson and Weathersby (1975) corroborate these cost effects on low-income students. In their review of the major studies of student demand, they report, "The absolute magnitude of the price responsiveness decreases with increasing income. In other words, individuals from low-income families are more affected by price changes than are individuals from high-income families" (p. 647).

Hyde (1977, p. 10, citing Bishop, 1975) notes that the high cost sensitivity of low-income students also indicates a high responsiveness to decreased costs of education. He estimates that a $100 or 50% decrease in a school with $200 tuition will increase the enrollment of the bottom 20% income group from 19% to 23%.

Not only will aid and tuition affect a student's decision to attend college, they may also determine the type of institution the student attends. One choice model estimates that changes in tuition have a greater effect on four-year colleges and vocational/technical schools than on two-year colleges. In contrast, scholarship assistance has a significantly greater impact on two-year colleges than on four-year institutions (Manski and Wise, 1983, p. 19).

The most important federal aid program designed to aid low-income students is the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant, now known as the Pell Grant. At its inception in 1973, almost all Pell dollars went to lower-income individuals. For a time, however, awards were increasingly given to students from higher- and middle-income groups. In 1979, approximately 40% of all grant funds were awarded to these two groups (Manski and Wise, 1983, p. 20). Manski and Wise (1983, p. 20) suggest that in 1979 the enrollment of those low-income students receiving Pell Grants was 60% higher than it would have been without the Pell, but only 12% higher among middle-income students and 3% greater among high-income students. Since that time, eligibility standards have been tightened and program funding reduced.

A number of other considerations should be remembered when studying the access and choice issue. Jackson and Weathersby (1975, p. 649, citing Hoenack, 1967) present evidence that cost decreases have a slightly greater impact than cost increases of the same amount. Second, tuition changes may have a greater overall effect on enrollment than financial aid because tuition is a constant and certain cost. However, Jackson and Weathersby point out that, after a student applies to college and is accepted, the availability of financial aid from loans and work-study programs may be less effective in making students go to school than direct grants. The monetary costs to the taxpayer of loans and work-study may, however, be substantially less than those of grants.

Conclusion

The current research on financial aid and levels of tuition indicates that they have a significant impact on student enrollment, and that low-income students are more sensitive than upper-income students to changes in educational costs. Financial aid and tuition are key factors in equalizing access to and choice among institutions of higher education.

If the goals of equal access to and choice among institutions of higher education are to be realized, policy programs should consider that the impact of financial aid and tuition costs vary by income level. Research indicates that the availability of aid often determines whether a student can afford to attend school. Furthermore, aid and tuition affect the enrollment decision of the low-income student more than they affect that of the middle- or high-income student. Studies also suggest that tuition has a greater impact on enrollment than financial aid, and grants have a greater impact than loans or work-study jobs.

Distribution of Financial Aid

Financial aid to students in Illinois seeking higher education is an increasingly key variable in the choice and access equation as costs have increased faster than aid and income. Financial aid to undergraduates at public universities has nearly tripled since 1973, with over 70% receiving some form of aid. Aid has quadrupled at private institutions and community colleges, with 70% and 57%, respectively, receiving aid (ISSC, 1982). In Fiscal Year 1982, 54% of Illinois undergraduates received some form of non repayable gift aid (federal, state, or institutional assistance), 27% took out loans, and 17% relied on on-campus employment for financial assistance (ISSC, 1982). Responses to an Illinois State Scholarship Commission (ISSC) follow-up survey of Monetary Award Program grant recipients for the 1979-80 school year indicate that three-fifths would not be attending college without assistance (ISSC, 1981).

Yet, available funding for aid to college students has not kept pace with rising costs of attending such institutions. The federal Pell Grant program, which until 1980 had been expanding, has been cut back, placing more of the burden of meeting college costs on state and institutional sources and on the student and family resources. These reductions may have a strong impact on access to and choice among institutions of higher education for many students, particularly for those at lower-income levels. As financial assistance becomes more essential, funding changes have greater and greater impact on students.

On the state level, the ISSC estimates that, under the Illinois Board of Education proposed budget for FY 1984, 39,500 needy students will be denied MAP grants, and those who do win awards will receive only 80% of their need (ISSC 1982). The commission has increased the calculated parental contribution accordingly to compensate for reduced federal and state aid. But a 1982 ISSC report shows that parents of grant recipients actually contribute only 35% of the state's calculated parental contributions. Somehow, the student must find other means of meeting college costs or may have to forgo a college education altogether.

Shift from Grants to Loans in Financial Aid

The MAP program is Illinois's primary source of direct state financial aid. As noted, the ISSC budget for MAP grants cannot meet the total need demonstrated by MAP applicants. Even though the actual number of awards has increased in the past few years, the average award has decreased. According to ISSC studies, many lower income students are shifting from more expensive four-year to less costly two-year institutions in order to compensate for the reduction in relative aid. However, many MAP recipients are in the lower-income deciles and are already attending low-cost two-year colleges. In general, students at two-year colleges receive a smaller portion of the total financial aid dollars available than do students at four-year institutions ($266/student versus $599 at public four-year and $2130 at private four-year).

Growing Debt Burden

An increasing number of students are turning to the student loan program through the Guaranteed Student Loan (GSL) program, which has risen from $50 million to $355 million in the decade from FY 1972 to 1982 (ISSC, 1982). Repayment of these loans including GSLs, National Direct Student Loans (NDSLs) and other types of loans, begins soon after graduation. Until then, interest on the loans is paid by the federal government. Furthermore, the federal government guarantees the loans against default in order to encourage lenders to make student loans.

Most GSLs are obtained through private banks and other lending institutions and require the student to take the initiative in securing a loan. In addition, banks may require that students or their families maintain an account at that bank, a requirement that some students, particularly low-income students, may not be able to fulfill. The NDSL is a federally sponsored program that has slightly lower interest rates and more restrictive income eligibility standards than loans obtained through private institutions. Both types of loans have become increasingly important in a student's total financial aid package, with private loans leading in total aid.

Table 170 shows the distribution of aid by source. The federal share of total financial aid decreased from 29.0% to 19.4% from 1978 to 1982; the state's percentages fell from 32.1% to 20.8% in the same period; and institutional contributions fell slightly from 23.3% to 21.2%. Yet, other sources, mainly loans, have provided 38.7% of the total in 1982 as opposed to only 15.6% in 1978. It is clear that, although federal, state, and institutional programs have expanded greatly in only four years, the most growth has occurred in the area of private sources, primarily banks and other GSL participants.

TABLE 170

DISTRIBUTION OF AID TO ILLINOIS STUDENTS BY SOURCE ($ MILLIONS)

	Federal		State		Insititutional		Other		
Year	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	Total $
1978	126.2	29.0	139.8	32.1	101.5	23.3	67.7	15.6	435.1
1980	163.3	27.7	152.4	25.8	125.2	21.2	149.2	25.4	590.1
1982	158.0	19.4	169.6	20.8	172.9	21.2	316.1	38.7	816.7

Source: ISSC, 1982.

Note: Percentages do not always add up to exactly 100% and figures do not correlate with totals (in this and other tables in this chapter) because of rounding.

Table 171 shows the shift from gift aid grants to loans as a primary source of financial aid. Gifts from all sectors combined account for 40.8% of the total in 1982 while loans account for 43.5%. In 1978, the proportions were reversed, with gifts making up 55.2% of the total and loans only 23.6%.

TABLE 171

DISTRIBUTION OF AID TO ILLINOIS STUDENTS BY TYPE ($ MILLIONS)

	Federal		State		Institutional		
Year	$	%	$	%	$	%	Total $
1978	240.0	55.2	102.7	23.6	92.5	21.3	435.2
1980	295.9	50.2	186.1	31.5	108.1	18.3	590.1
1982	334.2	40.9	355.3	43.5	127.0	15.6	816.5

Source: ISSC, 1982.

It is interesting to note that student employment has declined over the years as well. ISSC (1982) points to the increased availability of other aid as one cause of the decline, suggesting that students prefer direct gift aid over employment. Still, it is difficult to measure the impact of student employment because much of it is in private sector jobs rather than in federal or state employment aid.

Distribution of Aid by Institutional Type

Of the total amount of student aid dispensed in Illinois, students in private universities receive 50%, public universities about 40%, and community colleges only 10%. On a per student basis, this amounts to $2,130 at private universities, $599 at public universities, and $266 at community colleges. The average aid award is higher for students at four-year institutions than at two-year ones, as are average tuition and fees at those schools. Similarly, the average award to students at private institutions is higher than for those at less expensive public institutions.

Shifts in Type of Institution Attended

Recent trends indicate a significant rise in the number of MAP recipients who are attending two-year colleges. This supports earlier findings that indicate a shift from four- to two-year colleges for many needy students as well as a new application system and better financial aid counseling in some community colleges. There were over 25% more MAP recipients in two-year colleges in 1982 than in the previous year. A corresponding decrease in the number of MAP recipients at private four-year institutions has been noted as well (ISSC, 1982). While the number of community college MAP applicants and recipients has risen, the amount of the average award has fallen, forcing some four-year students to become two-year students, full-time students to enroll part-time, and some students to drop out completely. This trend is especially pronounced among low-income and minority (black and Hispanic) students, who are more dependent on financial aid as a means of financing a college education.

Minority Students

The number of minority MAP applicants has increased sharply. Although minorities make up 22.0% of the population in Illinois, they account for 43.0% (1982 ISSC Minorities Studies Report) of MAP applicants. Of black undergraduates, 58% apply for nonrepayable MAP grants. Thirty-seven percent of Hispanic undergraduates apply, and only 22% of white undergraduates seek MAP assistance (ibid). Among these applicants, 80% of blacks and 77% of Hispanics were eligible and judged needy, while 59% of the white applicants met income and other restrictions. But when it comes to claiming these awards, only 73% of black award winners and 77% of Hispanic award winners claim their grants, while 86% of white students do so. Most of those who do not are students who, for various reasons, do not attend college as they had planned and therefore do not claim their financial aid awards. Clearly, direct assistance such as MAP grants plays an essential role in educational decisions

Many black and Hispanic students attend two-year colleges. ISSC (1982) studies show that students at private and public four-year institutions receive much more aid in the form of loans than do students at two-year colleges, and that loans and other private sources of financial aid are becoming more and more important in the total aid package. Though the number of two-year and minority students seeking and obtaining MAP grants and federal assistance is rising, the actual aid provided by these sources is decreasing. Furthermore, these students have not been finding and obtaining aid from important alternative sources such as loans and as such have been most adversely affected by rising costs and shrinking aid.

Income Characteristics

Distribution of income among the different types of schools varies widely. Statewide, 11% of the ISSC awards go to students whose families receive welfare benefits. These and other low-income students most often attend two-year colleges, whereas those in higher income brackets tend to enroll in private four-year institutions. Also, students with family incomes over $27,000 are shifting farther toward four-year private institutions, and even greater numbers of students with family incomes between $6,000 and $22,000 are moving from public and private four-year institutions to two-year institutions. The average yearly family income of dependent MAP award recipients at private four-year institutions is $20,545, substantially higher than the $13,756 average income at public four-year institutions and the $10,698 average income at public two-year institutions.

Community colleges attract the most MAP applicants from the lower income levels; 45% of the aid applicants in the lowest decile of income attend two-year colleges, whereas only 8% in the highest decile attend such institutions. Overall, community colleges have experienced increases in the number of applicants from every income level except the highest two. Conversely, public universitites have lost students at all levels of family income except the highest two deciles. Private universities gained students in the top three deciles and remained stable in the bottom three deciles, but lost middle-income students.

As noted, the number of minority aid applicants has increased. These students tend to have fewer resources for meeting college costs. The average white family income in Illinois is about $23,000; the average black family income is only $13,000, and the average Hispanic income is $17,000. Only in black families is the mother's income higher than the father's.

As inflation and other factors reduce the ability of families to finance a college education, students look more to state and federal sources for funds. Tuition and fees are rising more rapidly than income. The ISSC concludes that "economically marginal" students are likely to be influenced in choice and access decisions by the effect of reductions in financial aid funding. For many, there will be no choice among the institutions, for others, access will be completely blocked.

Distribution of Aid in the Chicago Area

Within the Chicago area, there are schools of many kinds -- black, white, two-year, four-year, public, private, and combinations of these. Distinct differences in types and amounts of aid can be found among them. As a majority of the schools of higher education in Illinois fall within the boundaries of the Chicago metropolitan area, most of the general trends outlined above apply to schools in Chicago.

In the Chicago area, four-year institutions in general receive more aid than two-year colleges, with private four-year, predominantly white schools receiving substantially more aid per student than any other type of institution. ("Predominant" is defined as 80% or more.) Students at the one urban four-year public black school (Chicago State University) receive only slightly more aid per student than do two-year black city college students, whereas those at predominantly white four-year institutions, both public and private, receive much more aid per student than those at two-year white institutions (see Table 172).

TABLE 172

LOANS AND TOTAL AID PER STUDENT IN 1982, IN CHICAGO METRO AREA

Four Year	Loans	Total Aid	Two Year	Loans	Total Aid
Private White	$762	3,249	Suburban White	$64	$167
Public White	156	532	City White	11	187
Public Black	154	599	City Black	11	487

Source: ISSC, 1982.

Two-Year Colleges

Among public four-year institutions, predominantly white and predominantly black schools receive comparable amounts of aid. But at two-year institutions, there are great differences in average awards and total aid awarded among the different types of institutions. In 1982, the predominantly black Chicago City College schools Kennedy-King, Malcolm X, and Olive-Harvey, had the highest proportions of full-time equivalent MAP recipients of all two-year colleges in the state with 40%, 37%, and 42%, respectively, of their student bodies receiving grants. The integrated Loop College (54.4% black, 22% white, 6.1% Hispanic) had the fourth highest percentage, with 32% in 1982. Of the predominantly white schools in the public Chicago City College network, the racially mixed Harry S Truman had 28.0% MAP recipients, Wilbur Wright had 17%, and Richard Daley had 13.0%. The integrated City-Wide College (24.7% black, 54.6% white, 4.9% Hispanic) had only 7.0% MAP recipients. (Note: City-Wide has a high percentage of adult education students.)

Almost all of the CCC colleges have above the state average of 12.1% MAP recipients in community colleges. The suburban schools, on the other hand, have consistently low numbers of MAP recipients. William R. Harper, Joliet Junior College, and the College of DuPage, all predominantly white suburban two-year institutions, have 4.0%, 6.0%, and 4.0% MAP recipients, respectively. Income levels in the suburbs are higher than those in the city, and fewer students demonstrate need.

State aid in the form of scholarships and tuition waivers is concentrated in predominantly black city colleges. Although few students at two-year institutions obtain loans, those that do are most often in suburban white colleges. Most aid to two-year colleges, regardless of racial compositions, is in the form of scholarships and tuitions waivers, much of it coming from federal sources and very little from the institutions themselves. Inadequate federal and state scholarship funding will greatly affect these students.

Four-Year Institutions

As Table 172 indicates, total financial aid to four-year college students is higher than to two-year college students. Aid to public four-year institutions is about three times that to white two-year institutions, but is only slightly higher than aid to black two-year colleges. Most aid per student to four-year institutions goes to private four-year white schools, which receive over six times the aid allotted to students at public white institutions and over five times the aid given to students at public black institutions. Predominantly black four-year Chicago State has the highest percentage (49.0%) of MAP recipients of public four-year colleges in the state, but it comes nowhere near to matching the sums awarded to private white four-year students ($599 per student compared with $3249 per student). Although the number of MAP recipients at two-year colleges is rising, the actual number of dollars they are receiving is not rising at the same rate. Private white universities continue to receive a disproportionate amount of total aid dollars.

Direct aid to four-year college students in the form of scholarships and tuition waivers, although providing more aid per student than direct aid to two-year students, forms a smaller share of the total aid package for four-year students than for two-year students. These students, especially those at private white institutions are more likely to see loans as a means of financing a college education (see Table 172).

This is an important distribution if, as the ISSC (1981, 1982) suggests, loans are becoming a more essential part of the financial aid package. As more students, especially minorities, are being economically excluded from attending private four-year colleges and returning to less expensive two-year and public four-year colleges and are forced to find alternative sources of income, they need to turn to the student loan program for help. The figures in Table 172 show that students in private four-year institutions who are least affected by other aid cutbacks are the ones who are using the loan program.

Summary

The most significant trends in financial aid distribution are the increasing number of minority applicants and the growing number of two year college recipients. In Chicago, students at two-year black colleges and private white four-year institutions receive proportionately more aid than students at the other types of school. Those at two-year institutions receive more aid in the form of scholarships and tuition waivers. Students at four-year colleges, especially private white institutions, receive substantial direct aid, but also obtain more aid from private sources. With the shrinking pool of available funds for student financial aid, private sources are playing an increasingly prominent role in meeting college costs. In every type of school, the average family income decreased as total costs rose. Thus, financial aid will continue to hold the key to higher education for many students, especially those in low-income or minority groups.

Practical Problems of Access to the Financial Aid System

This section takes a different approach to the issue of financial aid. Rather than focusing on the general trends, this section looks at the personal aspects of the problems of the financial aid system. The aid application process, in and of itself, can be a significant barrier to education because of its complexity and the lack of knowledge among students.

Although some financial aid is available for some students with need, they must know how to apply for it. Students learn about the financial aid forms from their high school guidance counselors or from the college they plan to attend. Unless schools have a special presentation explaining financial aid, students must ask their counselors. According to Zina Jacque (1984), a financial aid counselor and associate director of admissions at the University of Chicago, counselors often do not go to their students with the information.

Financial Aid Forms

Students not only need application information; they also need a basic idea about where they want to attend college before they apply for aid. Financial aid is usually based on need as assessed by one of the three agencies and financial aid forms--the Application for Federal Student Aid of the federal government, the Financial Aid Form (FAF) of the College Scholarship Service, and the American College Testing (ACT) Family Financial Statement (FFS). The three forms use basically the same formula to determine family contribution, but schools only accept one of the three forms. For example, the Chicago City Colleges, a city-wide system of public junior colleges, only accept the Application for Federal Student Aid; but the University of Illinois at Chicago requires the ACT Family Financial Statement.

The Application for Federal Student Aid is used only to determine student eligibility for the five federal financial aid programs--the Pell Grant, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant, College Work-Study, National Direct Student Loans, and Guaranteed Student Loans. The application can also be used to apply for Illinois state aid programs because the Illinois State Scholarship Commission piggybacks this system rather than using its own application. The other two financial aid forms--the Financial Aid Form and the Family Financial Statement--are used by colleges to determine a student's financial aid.

The Financial Aid Form and the Family Financial Statement also allow a student to apply for federal and state aid. Both these forms have questions asking the student's permission for the agency to send on the information to the federal and state agencies that deal with financial aid. Therefore, instead of filling out another form, a student only has to check two boxes in order to apply for government aid when using a form other than the federal one.

Once students know which schools they want to apply to, they might have to fill out more than one financial aid form. The various schools a student applies to may require different forms. However, the same questions are asked on all three forms and are almost in the same order. A low-income student might hesitate in filling out more than one form because, although the federal application costs nothing, the other two forms do cost money. The Financial Aid Form costs $7 for the first report and $5 for each additional report. The Family Financial Statement costs $6 for the first report and $3 for each additional report plus $1 if the family wants a copy of assessment sent to them.

The College Board has a fee waiver program for its Financial Aid Form, but the ACT Family Financial Statement does not. High schools and colleges usually distribute the fee waiver card to needy students who are not enrolled in college. To be eligible, a student's family income must fall below the Social Security threshold of poverty for a family of four, a family income of $10,240. The fee waiver will cover the cost of sending the FAF to one college and one state agency or to two colleges. The fee waiver card must accompany the FAF when first filed.

Applying for Financial Aid

It is important that a student apply for aid as early as possible. The financial aid programs may, and in the past have, run out of money. Therefore, the people who apply early usually get a larger award than those who apply later. The Illinois State Scholarship Commission exhausted its funds for the 1983-84 school year before the application deadline of March 15, 1984; ISSC thus did not award aid to students who applied after December 10, 1983. For the 1984-85 school year, financial aid applications will be accepted until March 15, 1985 or until 200,000 applications are processed if that occurs earlier. The ISSC recommends that students apply as soon as possible after January 1, 1984--a difference of more than a year. Higher education institutions also have their own financial aid deadlines.

There are problems that make applying for aid immediately after January 1, difficult for students. Individuals may not know where or even *if* they want to go to college. Also, although applications should be sent in as soon after January 1 as possible, the income tax forms needed to fill out the applications are not due until April. Students may have to pressure their parents to complete their tax returns or have to wait for their parents to do so; they must wait also for their W-2 forms (income earnings statements from employers) to come in before they can apply for financial aid.

Students need their parents'cooperation to fill out the financial aid applications. Both the student and his parents must sign the form. Furthermore, records are required of both the student and his parents. For the 1984-85 school year those records are as follows:

- 1983 U.S. income tax return
- 1983 state and local income tax returns
- W-2 forms and other records of money earned in 1983
- records of untaxed income
- current back statements
- current mortgage information
- records of medical and dental bills that were paid in 1983
- business and farm records
- records of stocks, bonds, and other investments

It is not necessary to have filed a tax return to complete the application, but the family may need to verify through a notarized statement that they did not file an income tax return.

Many colleges require students to complete an institutional financial aid application in addition to one of the other three forms. These special forms rarely exceed four pages and are not very complicated. They ask questions that supplement the information on the other needs analysis forms, including students' estimated resources and special characteristics, such as religion and ethnicity for which the school might have special scholarship funds.

Barriers

Especially for low-income applicants, the financial aid forms are not difficult to fill out; the less money one has, the simpler the form is because there is less information to put down. But the forms *look* very intimidating. Although the actual number of pages that must be filled out is at most four, and in the federal application only two, the instructions are lengthy and may be intimidating. The general information for the ACT Family Financial Statement, excluding school codes, is 11 pages; for the Financial Aid Form, eight pages; and for the federal application, 12 pages.

The financial aid system might also hinder a student's choice of school in another way. Many students will not apply to a school until they know if they can afford it. Even if an applicant's form is sent in right after January 1, the assessment will not be received until February. By that time many college application deadlines have passed.

If a student's parents are separated, the federal government will only require the information on the parent more closely associated with the child, but high-cost colleges may require information and partial financial support from both parents, unless one of the parents is not available. If the less closely associated parent is not willing to contribute, the student may be unable to attend that particular school (Jacque, 1984). This is important because, in the Chicago metropolitan area, 21% of people under 18 years of age live in one-parent households. For black children, the figure is 46%; for Hispanics, 21%; and for whites, 12 percent. In the central city of Chicago, the figure rises to 34%--48% of black children, 23% of Hispanic children, and 18% of white children. (U.S. Census, 1980) This is also significant because female-headed households are the most likely to be low-income.

Loans

If students do not qualify for a grant or need more money than they were awarded, they may apply for a Guaranteed Student Loan. These loans are obtained through private banks. The students pay a lower-than-market interest rate that does not start building up until the student leaves school. The federal government pays the interest while the student is in college and guarantees the loan in case the student does not repay it.

The student must find a bank to issue the loan. This can be a problem especially for minority and low-income students because banks will require the student's family to have an account with the bank. Many minority and low-income families do not have bank accounts. Even when banks do not require an account relationship, they often require that the student live in or attend school in its area. In Chicago, there are very few banks that offer Guaranteed Student Loans within the boundaries of the areas with the largest concentrations of black and Hispanics. Many banks in downtown Chicago, though, do offer these loans (ISSC, 1984).

An informal survey conducted by this report of the downtown Chicago Banks (American National Bank, Continental Bank, First National Bank, Harris Bank, and the Northern Trust) showed that only three were giving out new loans. An account was not needed at any of the three, but only one, First National Bank, would give to both junior college and four-year college students. The other two would only give to four-year college students. This shows two other problems with attaining Guaranteed Student Loans. Some banks are not willing to give to junior colleges, and other banks are not issuing new loans.

Summary

The procedure for applying for financial aid can be complicated. Facets of the process can lead to barriers in access to college, choice of college and retention in college. Students must obtain information and organize themselves and their parents so that the application is received by the financial aid agencies as early as possible. This means quickly deciding on a college, getting the information, and filling out the financial aid forms, which many students find intimidating.

Low-income students may especially have problems with the financial aid application process. They may hesitate in applying to college until they have received their financial aid information, thereby limiting their choice of colleges. Students from one-parent households may also have problems with high-cost institutions that ask for financial information on both parents. Low-income and minority students may also face trouble in finding Guaranteed Student Loans.

Income Levels of Financial Aid Recipients Inside Chicago

This section looks at the family income levels of students who receive financial aid in Chicago. The information analyzed was from a special printout provided by the Illinois State Scholarship

Commission. This printout listed, for all the colleges in the central city of Chicago, the family income levels, by race, for dependent students who receive the Monetary Award Program (MAP) grant. Clear differences can be seen among whites, Hispanics, and blacks. White MAP recipients have higher incomes than Hispanics, who, in turn, have higher incomes than blacks. Differences can also be seen between four-year and two-year college students and among students who attend predominantly white, racially mixed, and predominantly minority institutions--with the former in both areas having higher incomes than the latter.

For MAP grant recipients, there is a big difference between the family income levels of whites, Hispanics, and blacks. Many more blacks than whites have incomes in the under $5000 and under $10,000 categories. For instance, 82% of white MAP recipients have incomes of $10,000 or over; only 50% of black recipients do; and Hispanics at 67%, are an intermediate group (see Table 173).

TABLE 173

INCOME LEVELS OF MAP RECIPIENTS IN CHICAGO BY RACE, 1982

	Whites		Hispanics		Blacks		Total	
Income Level	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
$0-$4999	450	5.9	230	10.7	1,489	19.5	2,169	12.4
$5000-$9999	885	11.5	478	22.2	2,337	30.6	3,700	21.2
$10,000+	6,346	82.6	1,450	67.2	3,822	50.0	11,618	66.4
Total	7,681	100.0	2,158	100.0	7,648	100.0	17,487	100.0

Source: ISSC, 1984.

The four-year and two-year colleges in Chicago were classified into one of three categories--predominantly white, predominantly minority, and racially mixed. Again, "predominantly" defined as 80% or more. For four-year colleges, there is a clear difference by category in the income levels of the financial aid recipients. Students of predominantly white colleges have the highest family incomes; next are the students of racially mixed colleges; and finally the students of predominantly minority colleges have the lowest income levels (see Table 174).

There are no predominantly white two-year colleges in Chicago. The income differences between financial aid recipients in racially mixed and predominantly minority two-year colleges is not very great, although students in predominantly minority two-year colleges do have slightly lower income levels than those in racially mixed two-year colleges.

TABLE 174

DISTRIBUTION OF MAP RECIPIENTS IN CHICAGO ACCORDING TO RACIAL COMPOSITION OF COLLEGES, TYPE OF COLLEGE, AND STUDENT FAMILY INCOME LEVEL, FY 1982

	College Type							
	Predominantly White		Racially Mixed		Predominantly Black		Total	
Income Level	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
$0-$4,999	452	5.3	795	13.4	222	27.4	1,469	9.7
$5-$10,000	965	11.4	1,475	24.9	270	33.3	2,710	17.8
$10,000+	7,047	83.3	3,654	61.7	318	39.3	11,019	72.5
Total	8,464	100.0	5,924	100.0	810	100.0	15,198	100.0
$0-$4999	486	21.1			454	25.9	940	23.2
$5-$10,000	737	31.9			608	34.7	1,345	33.1
$10,000+	1,084	47.0			689	39.3	1,773	43.7
Total	2,307	100.0			1,751	100.0	4,058	100.0
$0-$4999	452	5.3	1,281	15.6	676	26.4	2,409	12.5
$5-$10,000	965	11.4	2,212	26.9	878	34.3	4.055	21.1
$10,000+	7,047	83.3	4,738	57.6	1,007	39.3	12,792	66.4
Total	8,464	100.0	8,239	100.0	2,561	100.0	19,256	100.0

Source: ISSC, 1984.

The differences among the family income levels of MAP recipients of all predominantly white, racially mixed, and predominantly minority colleges, both four- and two-year, are again very large (see Table 174), mainly because of the differences in four-year colleges. Of financial aid recipients, 83% of students in predominantly white colleges have incomes of $10,000 or above, compared with 62% in racially mixed schools and 39% in predominantly minority colleges.

There is also a substantial difference in family income between MAP recipients who attend four-year colleges and those who attend two-year colleges in Chicago (see Table 175). Forty-four percent of students who receive financial aid in two-year colleges have family incomes of $10,000 or above compared with 73% in four-year colleges.

Summary

The income levels of state scholarship recipients who are of different races and who attend different types of colleges clearly vary. White recipients have the highest family incomes, followed by Hispanics, and blacks. Similarly, students who attend racially mixed or predominantly white colleges have higher family incomes than those who attend predominantly minority colleges. Of financial

TABLE 175

DISTRIBUTION OF MAP RECIPIENTS IN CHICAGO ACCORDING TO TYPE OF COLLEGE AND STUDENT FAMILY INCOME LEVEL, FY 1982

	All Two Year		All Four Year		All Colleges	
Income Levels	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
$0-$4,999	940	23.2	1,469	9.7	2,409	12.5
$5,000-$9,999	1,1345	33.1	2,710	17.8	4,055	21.1
$10,000 +	1,773	43.7	11,019	72.5	12,792	66.4
Total	4,053	100.0	15,198	100.0	19,256	100.0

Source: ISSC, 1984.

aid recipients, students who attend four-year colleges have higher family incomes than those who attend two-year colleges in the city.

The data show that the Illinois State Scholarship Commission is supporting low-income and minority families disproportionately at low-cost two-year institutions. The opposite is true for white and higher-income students. They are being supported disproportionately at higher-cost four-year institutions. The data do not show why this occurs. But one likely reason may be that the maximum award ($2,000 in FY 1983) is not sufficient to enable a low-income student to afford a higher-cost institution. It is also true, of course, that minority students are much more likely to attend high schools where it is almost impossible to prepare for selective private colleges (see Chapters 7 and 8).

Policies of the Illinois State Scholarship Commission and Their Effect on Students

Since FY 1980, the demand for student financial aid has increased at a much faster rate than the resources provided to meet student financial need. Although foundation student aid in Illinois--Pell Grants and Monetary Award Program (MAP) grants--increased by 1% between FY 1980 and FY 1983, the volume of MAP applicants increased by 35% and Illinois tuition and fees increased by an average of 38%. In response, the Illinois State Scholarship Commission (ISSC) inserted a "fund rationing mechanism" into its MAP formula. According to the ISSC (1982), this rationing mechanism has been "an effort to equitably distribute the available appropriation to the students with the greatest financial need."

The impact of the change in the MAP formula on students in Illinois and in metropolitan Chicago has varied. Some students previously eligible for aid have lost their eligibility while others have had their aid reduced. Still others have experienced little or no change in their aid package. Furthermore, the change in the MAP formula has shifted the distribution of student aid between institutional sectors and income levels.

The ISSC (1983) calculates MAP grants in three steps (1) it determines each applicant's college budget; (2) it calculates each applicant's maximum eligibility amount; and (3) it calculates the specific amount of each monetary award. Rationing of funds occurs in all three steps. The maximum budget includes a reduced miscellaneous allowance, a multiplier is used in the second step of the formula, and the calculation of the grants has a higher minimum need requirement and larger steps than previously. The maximum eligibility amount is the dependent student's college budget, minus the adjusted student-family contribution, the ISSC "self-help add-on", and the ISSC estimated federal Pell Grant.

The MAP formula sets the family contribution requirements artificially high. In FY 1982, the ISSC multiplied the amount that the family could contribute by 1.25. In FY 1983, the first $1,000 of each family's contribution was multiplied by 1.5, the second $1,000 by 2.0, and the remaining family contribution by 3.0. These sums plus the student's expected summer earnings yield the ISSC dependent student-family contribution. The "self-help add-on" is the amount (in addition to summer earnings) that the student is expected to contribute either through living at or below the designated college budget level. In FY 1983, it was $700/semester for freshmen and $900/semester for upperclassmen. Because the federal Pell Grants are announced after the ISSC begins to process MAP applications, estimates of the student's Pell Grants are calculated by the ISSC, often incorrectly.

The following is a summary of the ISSC maximum eligibility amount for dependent applicants:

1. College budget	Determined by ISSC
2. Adjusted Student-Family Contribution	Family contribution(FC) x 1.5 for first $1000 of contribution, plus FC x 2.0 for $1001 to $2000 of contribution, plus FC x 3.0 for remaining Contribution, plus Student's expected summer earnings.
3. ISSC self-help add-on (student earnings or contribution)	$700/semester for freshman $900/semester for upperclassmen
4. Pell Grant Estimate	Calculated by ISSC
5. ISSC Maximum Eligibility	Remainder of Above

The actual amount of the monetary award given to the applicant is the lesser amount of the ISSC maximum eligibility amount (up to $2,000) and the costs of tuition and fees at the selected institution.

This means a low income dependent student attending a college with low tuition and fees is expected to obtain a job, live below a reasonable college budget, somehow obtain 50% more from his family than they can reasonably give, and still receive little money from the state grant. Since the state grants cover only tuition and fees, and not other college costs, this means that students attending schools where tuition is a smaller part of total costs, such as community colleges, are disadvantaged.

When rationing mechanisms were imposed for the first time in the FY 1982 MAP formula, an estimated 12,000 to 13,000 financially needy students were denied grants. For those who did receive awards, the award paid for at most only 43% of tuition and fees at the private institution.

The Illinois appropriation for the MAP has declined steadily since FY 1970 on a per applicant basis in constant-value dollars. In FY 1970, the Illinois appropriation was $1,017 for each MAP applicant. By FY 1975, the state appropriation was $750 for each applicant; in FY 1980, only $577; in FY 1982, $498; and in FY 1983, $399 per applicant. This was a 61% reduction in per student resources.

The rationing mechanism in the MAP formula has also changed the eligibility status of continuing students, those who applied for aid in 1981-82 and again in 1982-83. More students with an adjusted gross income of $0-$8,000 or $16,001-$32,000 were eligible for MAP grants in 1982-83 than during the previous year. However, fewer students with an adjusted gross income of $8,001-$16,000 or over $32,000 were eligible during the two comparison years (ISSC, 1982). Many students who were receiving aid faced a cutoff of assistance.

The amount of financial aid the ISSC awards to the student is supposed to rise as the income of the family decreases and costs increase. However, the "self-help add-on" and the expected summer earnings require students from any income level to contribute substantially to the costs of their education. The ISSC does not specify the amount students are to earn or borrow but includes that amount in the total student-family contribution. The self-help component expects each freshman to provide $1,400 annually and sophomores and upperclassmen $1,800. Yet, in FY 1982, 45% of the dependent MAP applicants reported no student income, and less than half of the students with expected family contributions below $500 earned any income (ISSC, 1983).

High college-age unemployment rates in some areas make it difficult for students to help finance their education. In the city of Chicago, 23.9% of youths 16-21 years old were unemployed during April 1982. In this age group, 17.4% of whites were unemployed and 40.1% of blacks were (Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, 1982). Estimates by the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security indicate that the July 1983 unemployment rates for college-age whites in the metropolitan areas were significantly lower than for nonwhites. For 18-19 year-olds, 12.1% of whites and 44.7% of nonwhites were unemployed. For 20-21 year-olds, it was 8.3% of whites and 25.8% of blacks.

While financial aid per recipient has been declining in constant dollars, equal access has been further set back by substantial increases in tuition at most Chicago area institutions of higher education. As the research literature suggests, this appears to have the largest impact on the poorest students. The public community colleges in the city of Chicago have undergone the most dramatic enrollment changes of any type of institution in the metropolitan area between Fall 1982 and Fall 1983. The head count at these colleges decreased by 16.9% and the number of full-time equivalency (FTE) students per campus fell by an average of 380 students. Those changes in enrollment occurred at the time when tuition and fees were up by $116 or 18% that year.

Among individual institutions with students largely from higher-income families, changes in tuition did not cause large falls in enrollment. In some cases, enrollment actually increased. In contrast, Malcolm X College dropped their FTE enrollment by 597 students and their head count enrollment by 25%.

Conclusion

Lack of financial aid is a substantial barrier to equal access to higher education. If insufficient funding of the MAP continues, the redistribution of eligibility and the declining amount of the average award will create a climate of uncertainy among students about their educational futures, and it will place the goal of equal access even farther from reach.

Summary

Since 1980, the demand for student financial aid has increased at a faster rate than appropriations. In response, the ISSC assumes an artificially high family contribution. In addition, the ISSC expects each student to contribute substantially to the financing of his education. These policies meant that 25,000 students were denied grants in 1983. At every income level, the average award was reduced. The MAP rationing mechanism reduced aid more sharply for students in public institutions. Finally, high college-age unemployment rates, especially in minority areas, have made it difficult for nonwhite students to help pay for the costs of their education.

The Federal Role in Financial Aid

The federal government plays a major role in financial assistance to college students nationwide. State, institutional, and other forms of aid are based on federal eligibility guidelines and award amounts. Federal programs channel almost 80% of the total amount of assistance to students through federal and state financial aid awards.

Federal programs underwent rapid expansion from the time of their inception in the late 1950s through the middle 1970s. However, this expansion ended in the early 1980s, and total aid has begun to decline. Total aid for the academic year 1983-84 is estimated at $16.1 billion, $2 billion less than that of the 1981-82 peak year. Between 1980-81 and 1983-84, the real (adjusted-for-inflation) value of aid awarded fell 21%. State allocations, too, have decreased in real terms, leaving a funding gap for many students (All data in this section comes from the College Board [1984]).

Pell and Guaranteed Student Loans

Passage of the Middle Income Student Assistance Act in 1978 led to large increases in the number of Pell Grants and GSL awards, as higher-income students became eligible. Actual appropriations from the federal government rose steadily through 1983. However, once the figures are adjusted for inflation, it is evident that the real value of total aid has fallen since 1981. Between 1979 and 1984, the value of federally sponsored aid dropped 26% (not including GSLs), a trend that is predicted to continue.

The Pell Grant and GSL programs are the largest federally funded aid programs. In Fiscal Year 1984, the Pell program will receive a large funding increase, bringing total appropriations up to $2.8 billion. However, this amount is well below the sums available in the late 1970s after adjustment for inflation. The GSL program alone continues to grow despite reinstated restrictions on income eligibility.

Aid Per Full-Time Equivalent Student

Recent years have seen a major change in the relationship of college costs to income and aid. Costs have risen sharply, but income and aid per FTE (full-time equivalent) student have not. Similarly, the number of recipients is up, but the inflation-adjusted value of the average award is down (except in the case of GSLs). The average grant per FTE student was almost 53% less in 1983-84 than in 1974-75. The average loan per FTE student, however, is 123% greater. Still, overall aid per FTE has fallen 23% during the 1980s after steadily increasing throughout the 1970s.

Distribution of Aid

The share of total aid going to public and private four-year institutions has decreased considerably. However, two-year colleges have greatly increased their share of total aid. This reflects the federal emphasis on access rather than choice and a goal of restoring the primary roles of the family and student in meeting costs while providing low-income students with more direct grant aid. Whereas the state of Illinois focuses on providing aid to enable students to choose higher cost institutions, the federal programs are aimed at ensuring access to higher education in general.

Income and Rising Costs

In the academic year 1978-79, the majority of Pell Grant recipients came from families with incomes of less than $15,000 (in 1982 dollars). During that academic year, the Middle Income Student Assistance Act was passed, making higher income families eligible. Thus, in the following year, the number of recipients with incomes greater than $15,000 doubled. By 1981-82, this number again fell because of inflationary "bracket creep", which artificially pushed many families out of income eligibility without increasing their real income.

The cost of college as the percentage of aftertax income per capita has increased since 1979-80 at all types of institutions. In the academic year 1982-83, private universities consumed 91% of disposable (aftertax) personal income per student, public four-year colleges consumed 32%, and public two-year, consumed 26%. Aid in that same period has decreased significantly (College Board, 1984: p. 44).

Similarly, the costs of attending these institutions has risen. The lowest increase was at public universities, at 4%. Public four-year colleges experienced a 13% increase, community colleges a 19% increase, private universities a high of 27%, and private colleges 23%.

Federal-State Partnership

The federally sponsored Pell, SEOG, and SSIG programs, along with the Illinois MAP program, provided 97% of the aid needed to fund college education in Illinois through FY 1981. Since then, the number of applicants and average tuition have risen faster than federal and state aid. In FY 1983, only 64% of tuition and fees was covered, and by FY 1984, only an estimated 54% will be provided.

In Illinois, state funding accounted for 80%-85% of aid from the above programs through 1974. Since 1980, however, this number has dropped to about 45%. Through 1981, increases in federal funding offset decreasing state aid. Substantial reductions in federal aid have upset that balance and created funding crises in both federal and state governments and among financially needy students.

Reductions in federal and state aid have affected different types of institutions to varying degrees. On a constant dollar per applicant basis, public universities lost $384 per applicant, private colleges and universities $586, and community colleges $445. This is a 31%, 26%, and 44% loss, respectively. Community colleges, which have more low-income and minority students, have lost the highest percentage of aid per student. Further reductions in aid will increase dollar loss to both students in need of aid and institutions seeking students.

Conclusion

A reduction in aid from one source leaves the other with increased funding demands. Since the early 1980s, both federal and state funds have been greatly reduced in real dollars per applicant. Despite increased funding and expansion of aid programs, aid per student has decreased and is predicted to continue to fall.

Chapter Conclusion

More than $300 million dollars in state and federal aid goes to Illinois students each year, with the large majority of the aid coming into the Chicago metropolitan area. The aid comes from a variety of programs and sources and is supplemented by money borrowed from banks under government-guaranteed or government-subsidized loans. This large system of financial aid helps to determine who can go to college and which colleges they can attend.

Overall, far more scholarship aid per student is flowing to students at private institutions than to those at public institutions. (Students at public institutions do, of course, receive an indirect subsidy from the public support for the college's budget.) The state financial aid system tends to provide a disproportionate amount of aid to black and Hispanic students in low-cost community colleges and to white students in more expensive private institutions. The reason for this distribution of aid is likely to be that the gap between aid and costs makes the more expensive institutions inaccessible to low-income, commonly minority, students.

Furthermore, the average state scholarship awards have declined for all categories of students in Illinois, but the sharpest cuts have come for students at the lowest income levels. Similar changes in the federal aid programs, with funding increases failing to keep up with rising costs of education, have left more of the financial burden on the diminishing state and private resources.

Inadequate funding for the state scholarship program has produced unrealistic earnings assumptions and assumptions about the ability of families to aid students that work to the special disadvantage of low-income families and minority students. For example, the state scholarship program requires students from any income level to contribute substantially to the costs of their education, without regard for students' potential summer and schoolyear employment opportunities. Minority unemployment for college-age people in the Chicago area is significantly higher than that for whites, yet minority students come largely from low-income families.

While aid is decreasing per capita, tuition at most institutions is rising and enrollment is declining. As a result of the increasing costs of education, there is clear evidence that many lower-income families are responding by enrolling their children in less selective and lower cost schools. A significant shift from four-year to two-year institutions within lower-income groups has been occurring. (Attrition rates are much higher among students who enroll initially in two-year institutions).

Finally, the financial aid application process, in and of itself, can be a significant barrier because of its complexity and the lack of knowledge among many students. Community colleges, according to a survey conducted by this project, provide very little pre-enrollment financial aid information. Application deadlines for financial aid work to the disadvantage of community college students in general, since these students often come from families that are more marginal financially and decide later in the year about attending college.

CHAPTER 15

TEACHERS AND THE PERPETUATION OF INEQUALITY

Although there are controversies about many issues in education, it is very difficult to question the belief that students with better prepared teachers will be offered better educational opportunities. When one considers both the vast inequalities in high school performance documented in earlier chapters and the special dependence of black and Hispanic students on advice from their teachers, central city schools obviously require very well-qualified teachers familiar with the full range of college opportunities. Unfortunately, however, both the present distribution of teachers and recent hiring patterns tend to reinforce rather than diminish the inequalities in the system. Central city high schools are staffed with less educated teachers from less selective educational institutions, and the suburban schools serving few minority or low-income students have more highly educated teachers from more selective colleges. Thus, the distribution of teachers is a key link in the chain of inequality and may help explain the continuing channeling of large numbers of minority high school graduates to the same nonselective colleges that produced their teachers.

Analysis of this issue was made possible through the agreement of the State Department of Education to provide certain data from the teacher record forms collected by the state government. Although the state agency removed personal identification of individual teachers and refused to supply racial data on Chicago teachers, the computer tape did contain substantial information about the educational background of all teachers in the metropolitan area and racial information about teachers in all suburban districts. This permits a kind of analysis never before possible on a study of educational opportunity in a metropolitan area.

Some Hisotrical Data on Chicago-Area Public High Schools

Background data on the Chicago public school system suggest that tracking of teachers from certain institutions to Chicago has existed for some time. The data also suggest that, in the past, the even distribution of faculty with regard to years of teaching experience and race throughout city schools has been problematic.

In 1964, Robert J. Havighurst found that certain teacher training institutions fed the Chicago public school system and that teachers were not impartially distributed throughout the school district with regard to their years of teaching experience. In his study, *The Public Schools of Chicago,* Havighurst found that Chicago Teacher's College South, now Chicago State University, provided training for 29% of all Chicago high school teachers (Havighurst 1986: p. 287). He also found that because teachers with seniority got preferred teaching locations, the least experienced teachers often taught in the worst schools (Havighurst, 1964: p. 341). Havighurst's report contains no information on minority faculty, possibly because there were few minority faculty to report.

Data from the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights for 1975-1979 confirm Havighurst's earlier findings of preferred placement for experienced teachers and, additionally, report differential placement for white teachers. In a letter to Superintendent Joseph Hannon dated October 6, 1975 from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the department denied the Chicago school system federal assistance because they found, among other things, that high schools with 90%-100% minority students consistently were assigned more minority faculty and faculty with less experience than high schools with 0%-10% minority students (letter to Superintendent Hannon, October 6, 1975: pp. 5, 8).

The school board and the Office of Civil Rights jointly devised a 1977 compliance plan that called for the integration of faculty on the basis of race, years experience, and level of educational attainment. On April 9, 1979 (in a letter to Superintendent Hannon from HEW), the Office of Civil Rights determined that the Chicago school system was not complying with the 1977 plan, though much progress had been made. Currently, the Chicago school district faces charges of discrimination and segregation, though widespread differential placement of teachers within the city of Chicago is less common. Now, the real problem is on a metropolitan scale.

Data from the Illinois State Board of Education's *Illinois Teacher Supply and Demand, 1976-77* suggest that one of the largest problems facing Illinois school districts may be a decrease in the quality of teacher-graduates seeking jobs. The Board of Education estimated that while both the supply of and demand for teachers was declining in Illinois, demand was declining faster than supply because of shrinking budgets and declining student enrollments (Illinois State Board of Educatin, 1977: p. 51). The report states that the State Board of Education and the Illinois Board of Higher Education wanted colleges to reduce enrollment in their teacher-training programs to alleviate oversupply (ISBE, 1977: p. 81). However, it was noted that reduced enrollment coupled with low employment expectations might make it difficult to attract qualified students into teacher-training programs (ISBE, 1977: p. 57).

One of the central issues raised by Havighurst, the Office of Civil Rights, and the Illinois State Board of Education concerns the possibility of maintaining qualified teachers in all school districts. While it is evident from the Office of Civil Rights data that differential teacher placement has declined within the city of Chicago, this study shows that a quality differential exists across Chicago city boundaries.

About the Data Source

The data that follow in this chapter were obtained from the Illinois State Board of Education and, except where noted, refer to the public high school systems for the 1982-83 school year. Information is included on Chicago and suburban Cook County, and Lake, DuPage, Will, and McHenry Counties only. Data on Kane County are not included. In this chapter, the phrase "metropolitan area" refers to the above five counties. The terms "teacher-graduates" and "graduates" refer to graduates from institutions of higher education who taught in Chicago area public high schools during the 1982-83 school year. When suburban high school districts are discussed, the term "high minority student enrollment" refers to districts with more than 25% black or Hispanic high school students and "low minority student enrollment" refers to districts with less than 1.0% black or Hispanic high school students. "Low income" refers to a high school student who comes from a family receiving public aid, lives in an institution for neglected or deliquent children, or lives in a foster home that is funded with public money.

Racial Composition of Metropolitan Area Teachers

Although serious allegations of discrimination and segregation have, in the past, been leveled against the Chicago public school system, the system remains the largest employer of minority high school teachers in the metropolitan area.

There are a total of 16,242 high school teachers in the metropolitan Chicago area. Suburban Cook County and the city of Chicago have the largest numbers of teachers with 6,038 and 5,379, respectively; Will and McHenry counties have the fewest with 879 and

477, respectively. The Chicago public school system employs 2,179 black and Hispanic high school teachers. This is 86.6% of all metropolitan area minority high school teachers. Minority high school teachers comprise 40% of Chicago teachers; white high school teachers account for 58.2%. While suburban Cook County employs the second largest number of minority high school teachers, in percentage terms, 4.8% of Will County's high school teachers are black or Hispanic, and 3.8% of suburban Cook County teachers, 3.1% of Lake County teachers, .7% of DuPage County teachers, and .2% of McHenry County teachers are classified as such (see Table 176).

TABLE 176

PERCENT WHITE, BLACK, AND HISPANIC TEACHERS IN CHICAGO AND SUBURBAN HIGH SCHOOL FACULTIES, 1982-83

Race	Chicago	Suburban Cook	DuPage	Lake	McHenry	Will
White/Other	59.3	96.1	99.3	96.8	99.8	95.2
Black	37.7	3.1	.3	2.4	.0	3.1
Hispanic	2.7	.7	.4	.7	.2	1.7

Note: Figures do not always total 100% because of rounding. White/Other includes teachers of American Indian, Asiatic, or Pacific Islander descent.

At the district level, an analysis of racial composition of high school faculty reveals that suburban minority high school teachers are concentrated in predominately low-income areas and in areas with large percentages of minority students. Districts with more low-income students have greater numbers of minority high school teachers; 70% of the relatively low-income districts have some minority high school faculty, whereas half of the 10 highest income districts have no minority high school faculty.

There is a striking relationship between percentage of minority high school students enrolled and percentage of minority high school faculty employed. Of the 10 districts with the smallest percentages of minority student enrollment, only one has any minority faculty. Of the 10 districts with the largest percentage of minority students, the percentage of minority faculty ranges from 7.1% to 27.9% of the district's faculty. There appears to be a strong negative relationship between income level and percentage of minority faculty employed and a strong positive relationship between race of student body and percentage of minority faculty employed for high school districts.

Baccalaureate Data for the Five Counties' Teachers

Racial statistics by themselves of high school teachers reveal little about the impact of teacher channeling in the Chicago metropolitan area. An analysis of the institutions that train high school teachers provides a more substantive basis upon which the hypothesis of teacher channeling can be tested.

Tables 177 and 178 show the distribution of metropolitan area teachers graduated from the largest teacher-supplying colleges in Illinois to the five county high schools. Table 177 lists the number of teachers graduated from the largest teacher-training institutions now teaching in Chicago and the suburbs. Table 178 lists the percentages of minority enrollment for each institution and the percentage of the total metropolitan area graduates from each institution teaching in the city and suburbs.

TABLE 177

INSTITUTIONS SUPPLYING THE LARGEST NUMBER OF B.A. TEACHERS IN THE CHICAGO AREA, 1982-83

	Types of Institutions			
	Former Chicago Teachers Colleges	City Private Colleges	Public Univ.	Major Research Univ.
Teaching Location	Chicago State Northeastern	DePaul Roosevelt Loyola	UIC, ISU, NIU, Eastern SIU, Western	UI-Urbana Northwestern
City of Chicago	1,194 23.1%	810 15.7%	676 13.1%	429 8.4%
Suburbs:				
Overall	307 2.8%	370 3.4%	3,774 34.9%	1,143 10.5%
Ten highest income H.S. Districts	23 1.9%	43 3.6%	323 27.1%	158 13.2%
Ten lowest income H.S. Districts	94 4.5%	65 3.1%	726 34.5%	203 9.7%
Ten districts w/most minority students	96 4.8%	74 3.7%	658 33.0%	180 9.0%
Ten districts w/fewest minority students	8 2.3%	5 1.4%	138 39.5%	21 5.4%

With several important exceptions, the same institutions graduate significant numbers of teachers into both the city of Chicago and the suburban high school districts. The tables show the city is modestly more dependent on the largest teacher-training institutions than suburban areas: As of 1982-83 57.9% of Chicago

TABLE 178

PERCENT OF TEACHER-TRAINING INSTITUTIONS' METROPOLITAN AREA GRADUATES TEACHING IN THE CITY AND SUBURBS

	% Minority	Percent Graduates Teaching	
Institution	Enrollment	City	Suburbs
Chicago State	78.8	85.2	14.8
DePaul	14.2	63.4	36.6
UI Champaign	4.4	27.2	72.8
Roosevelt	15.2	79.8	20.2
Loyola	12.0	64.4	35.6
Northeastern	21.2	59.2	40.8
Norhtern Il	6.1	13.8	86.2
SIU-Carbondale	9.7	32.1	67.9
Il State Univ.	7.0	11.8	88.2
UI-Chgo Circle	19.9	38.9	61.1
Western Il	8.8	4.3	95.7
Eastern Il	4.7	6.5	93.5
Northwestern	7.1	27.6	72.4

high school teachers graduated from one of the institutions in Table 177, while 51.4% of suburban teachers graduated from the same institutions.

Chicago State University is a major feeder institution into the Chicago public school system; it supplied 1,001 of the system's 5,379 high school teachers. In Chicago, almost 20% of all high school teachers received their baccalaureate degrees from Chicago State. Chicago State has a 78.8% black and Hispanic enrollment, and 85.2% of its metropolitan area graduates who taught in high schools in 1983 were employed by the Chicago public school system.

It is clear from data on the 10 institutions supplying significant numbers of teachers to the Chicago public school system that most minority high school faculty holding baccalaureate degrees come from urban teacher-training institutions with significant minority student populations. The institutions that have the largest percentages of their graduates teaching in Chicago also have the largest percentages of minority student enrollments. Along with Chicago State, the following institutions contribute the largest numbers of their graduates to Chicago high schools: DePaul, Roosevelt, Loyola, and Northeastern Illinois.

There is a positive relationship between the percentage of a college's graduates teaching in Chicago and the proximity of the institution to Chicago. DePaul and the University of Illinois at

Urbana-Champaign each account for the same percentage of Chicago public high school teachers, but 63.4% of DePaul's metropolitan area graduates teach in Chicago, compared with 27.2% of University of Illinois at Urbana's metropolitan area graduates. Roosevelt and Loyola, both situated in Chicago, have graduates that account for 5.5% and 3.8%, respectively, of the entire Chicago high school teacher population. Roosevelt supplies 79.8% and Loyola 64.4% of its metropolitan area graduates to Chicago public high schools. However, Northern Illinois, Southern Illinois University, and Illinois State University supply less than one-third of their metropolitan area graduates to Chicago. Overall, the percentage of an institution's metropolitan area graduates teaching in Chicago tends to decline with the institution's distance from Chicago.

One apparent anomaly to the general pattern of Chicago teacher-training institutions is the University of Illinois at Chicago. UIC is located in Chicago, and with 19.9% minority enrollment, it has a student body that, on the basis of race, is comparable to DePaul, Roosevelt and Northeastern. However, only 38.9% of its metropolitan area teacher graduates teach in Chicago; 61.1% teach in the suburbs. While UIC is one of the smaller suppliers of teachers to both Chicago and suburban high schools, it is an important exception. It is the highest-ranked public institution in the area but supplies teachers primarily to the suburbs.

At the baccalaureate level none of the institutions who graduate large numbers of suburban high school teachers make as large an individual impact as Chicago State does to Chicago public high schools. Northern Illinois and Illinois State graduates have the largest effect on suburban high schools, with their graduates forming 11.2% and 10.2%, respectively, of the total suburban high school teacher population. The percentage of metropolitan area graduates from the major teacher-training institutions teaching in the suburbs declines as percentage of minority student enrollment in the institutions increases.

Suburban Chicago high schools are better able to attract more teachers from out-of-state midwestern institutions than the Chicago school system is. Of the metropolitan area teachers trained in Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin, between 9.3% and 13.8% of those working in the area teach in Chicago, whereas between 86.2% and 90.7% teach in the suburbs. On the other hand, Mississippi, Georgia, and Tennessee supply between 79.8% and 91.1% of their metropolitan area graduates to Chicago high schools. Combined, graduates from Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Louisiana account for 11.0% of all employed Chicago high school teachers. Any explanation for the cause of this trend would be purely speculative, for the State Board of Education does not collect data on out-of-state teacher-training institutions. Southern black colleges, however, could account for part of the Chicago pattern.

For the institutions that are primarily suppliers of high school teachers to the city of Chicago, one trend is evident: Of their graduates teaching outside the city, a substantial portion teach in suburban Cook County. For example, 85.2% of Chicago State's metropolitan area teacher-graduates teach in Chicago; 13.2% teach in suburban Cook County; and 1.6% teach in the remaining four suburban counties. Over four-fifths of DePaul's 189 suburban teacher-graduates teach in suburban Cook County. For the urban teacher-training institutions, their sphere of influence seems to decline with distance from the city.

Although institutions in the outlying suburbs do not supply many teachers to the suburban school system as a whole, some individual suburban high schools get significant numbers of teachers from these institutions. For example, DuPage gets 3.2% of its total high school teaching staff from North Central College. This is 57.5% of North Central's Chicago-area graduates. DuPage County also gets 2% of its total high school teaching staff from Elmhurst College (42.5% of Elmhurst's graduates). The same trend seems to hold true for Will County with regard to the College of St. Francis and Lewis University. As a whole, the trend of suburban and downstate institutions with low minority enrollment supplying larger numbers of teachers to suburban high schools than to Chicago high schools holds at the county level, as well as the overall suburban level.

At the district level, data on race and income of high school students tend to support the hypothesis of channeling from baccalaureate institutions into high school classrooms. On the whole, graduates from Chicago State, DePaul, Roosevelt, Loyola and Northeastern Illinois make up a smaller fraction of teachers in schools with fewer low-income students. A significant proportion of the graduates from urban institutions teaching in higher income suburban schools teach in Cook County schools. In the outlying high-income districts, larger numbers of their teachers graduate from the University of Illinois at Urbana, Northern Illinois University, Southern Illinois University, Illinois State University, and Western and/or Eastern Illinois Universities. Only a handful of graduates from Chicago State, DePaul, and Northeastern teach in the 10 high schools with the fewest low-income students. Of the 10 districts with the largest percentages of low-income students, there are 67 graduates from Chicago State, 30 graduates from DePaul, and 27 graduates from Northeastern. Thus, 38.7% of Chicago State's, 15.9% of DePaul's, and 20.3% of Northeastern's suburban teacher-graduates teach in the 10 lowest-income districts.

Patterns of channeling from teacher-training institutions to suburban school districts appear to be associated with the racial composition of the high school student body. For the 10 high school districts with the lowest percentage minority student enrollments, only two-both Cook County districts-have teachers that graduated from Chicago State University. Those same two are also the only districts with teacher-graduates from DePaul.

Northern Illinois University graduates, on the other hand, teach in eight of the 10 districts with the smallest percentage of minority enrollment and account for between 6.5% and 31.3% of each district's teachers. The University of Illinois at Urbana graduates teach in seven of these 10 districts and make up between 2% and 12.5% of each district's teachers. Western Illinois and Eastern Illinois University graduates teach in eight of the 10, and Illinois State graduates teach in seven. There is a strong positive association between a small percentage of minority student enrollment and employment of downstate and suburban college graduates. However, this trend must be viewed cautiously, since all of these 10 districts have relatively small numbers of high school faculty.

The 10 suburban high school districts that have the largest percentages of minority student enrollment-between 63.3% for North Chicago Community High School in Lake County and 25.7% for Crete Monee C.U. in Will County-select teacher-graduates from a wider range of institutions than the predominantly white high school districts. The six urban teacher-training institutions are well represented in the Cook County districts, as are most of the suburban and downstate teacher-training institutions. The districts with larger percentages of minority student enrollment tend to have teachers from all or most of the institutions listed.

At the city-suburban, county, and district levels, location of teacher-graduates tends to be associated with the minority enrollment of the institution, the location of the institution, the minority enrollment of the high schools, and the income status of the high school students. While the uneven distribution of teacher-graduates may be due to a distorted applicant pool or certain intentional or unintentional hiring practices, the result is the channeling of teacher-graduates from certain institutions to particular districts.

Advanced Degree Attainment by Metropolitan Area Teachers

Analysis of patterns of attainment of advanced degrees by the metropolitan area's teachers reveals that much the same trends of channeling from specific training institutions to city and suburban high schools exists for teachers holding master's degrees, doctorate degrees and special six-year certificates. The Illinois State Board of Education defines advanced degrees as any of these three.

Suburban teachers are more likely to hold advanced degrees than city teachers, and most suburban teachers holding advanced degrees are white. Table 179 shows that, of all Chicago high school teachers, 43.6% hold advanced degrees compared with 71.6% of all suburban teachers. Of all area high school teachers holding advanced degrees, 76.1% (7,759) teach in the suburbs; 23.9% (2,435) teach in Chicago. Suburban white teachers are more likely to hold advanced degrees than suburban black teachers. Almost 28% of all white suburban teachers and 41.1% of all black suburban teachers hold only baccalaureate degrees. Conversely, 70.6% of all white suburban teachers hold master's degrees, whereas 57.0% of all black teachers hold the same.

Tables 180 and 181 list the institutions that grant the largest numbers of advanced degrees to metropolitan area high school teachers, as a percentage of all city/suburban teachers holding such degrees and as a percentage of the institution's metropolitan area graduates.

The Chicago public high school system is even more dependent upon a few institutions for its supply of teachers with advanced degrees. Many of the same institutions that provide many B.A. teachers also are crucial in training city teachers with advanced degrees. Chicago State University again heads the list. Teachers holding advanced degrees from Chicago State account for 19.6% of all Chicago high school teachers holding advanced degrees; 66.5% of all Chicago State advanced degree graduates teach in Chicago. Graduates holding advanced degrees from DePaul, Northeastern, and Roosevelt also form significant percentages of all Chicago high school teachers holding such degrees. In total, advanced degree holders from the few leading teacher-supplying institutions in the

TABLE 179

HIGHEST DEGREE HELD FOR METROPOLITAN AREA TEACHERS BY LOCATION

	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	6-Yr Certificate And Other	Total
LOCATION:					
Chicago	2778	2394	40	167	5,379
	51.7%	44.5%	.7%	3.1%	
Suburban Cook	1454	4498	80	6	6,038
	24.1%	74.5%	1.3%	.1%	
DuPage	591	1366	18	17	1,992
	29.7%	68.6%	.9%	.8%	
Lake	536	921	8	12	1,477
	39.3%	62.4%	.5%	.8%	
McHenry	194	276	3	4	477
	40.7%	57.9%	.6%	.8%	
Will	295	564	8	12	879
	33.6%	64.2%	.9%	1.4%	
Total Suburban	3070	7625	117	51	10,863
	28.3%	20.2%	1.1%	.6%	

Note.- "Other" figures do not always total 100% because of rounding.

metropolitan area account for 82.0% of all Chicago high school teachers with advanced degrees.

There are several differences between the institutions granting the most B.A. degrees to Chicago public school teachers and those granting the largest number of advanced degrees. Some institutions, such as the University of Chicago, Northwestern, Governor's State, and Northern Illinois University, that granted advanced degrees to significant numbers of Chicago high school teachers do not have many baccalaureate graduates teaching in Chicago. Additionally, the important city institutions supply a significant percentage of their metropolitan area advanced degree graduates to the suburbs. Chicago State University has the largest differential, with two-thirds of its metropolitan area graduates teaching in Chicago and one-third in the suburbs. Most of Northeastern's teachers holding advanced degrees teach in the suburbs. It is clear again, however, that suburban and downstate teacher-training institutions supply relatively few of their metropolitan area graduates to Chicago.

Almost 60% of all teachers holding advanced degreers in the suburbs graduated from one of the largest metropolitan area teacher-training institutions. Advanced degree holders from

TABLE 180

UNIVERSITIES SUPPLYING THE LARGEST NUMBER OF ADVANCED DEGREE TEACHERS IN THE CHICAGO AREA, 1982-83

	Types of Institutions			
	Former Chicago Teachers Colleges	City Private Colleges	Public Univ.	Major Research Univ.
Teaching Location	Chicago State Northeastern	DePaul Roosevelt Loyola	NIU, ISU, Gov. State	UI-Urbana Northwestern U of Chicago
City of Chicago	733	662	319	328
	30.1%	27.2%	13.1%	13.5%
Suburbs:				
Overall	548	515	2,334	1,402
	7.1%	6.6%	30.1%	18.1%
Ten highest income H.S. Districts	42	62	190	220
	4.8%	7.1%	21.8%	25.2%
Ten lowest income H.S. Districts	159	106	427	300
	10.2%	6.8%	27.5%	19.3%
Ten districts w/most minority students	137	106	362	275
	9.4%	7.3%	24.8%	18.9%
Ten districts w/fewest minority students	16	15	61	20
	8.0%	7.5%	30.5%	10.0%

TABLE 181

CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS GRANTED ADVANCED DEGREES AS A PERCENTAGE OF EACH INSTITUTION'S METROPOLITAN AREA GRADUATES

		Percent Graduates in	
Institution	Percent Minority Enrollment	City	Suburbs
Chicago State	78.8	66.5	33.5
Northeastern	21.2	45.4	54.6
DePaul	14.2	55.4	44.6
Roosevelt	15.2	57.4	42.6
Gov. State	20.3	43.4	56.6
Loyola	12.0	56.1	43.9
UI-Urbana	4.4	14.8	85.2
Northwestern	7.1	20.8	79.2
University of Chicago	5.2	31.6	68.4
Norhtern	6.1	3.6	96.4
ISU	7.0	9.0	91.0

Northern Illinois University form 21.6% of all suburban teachers with advanced degrees. This is 96.4% of Northern's Chicago area graduates. University of Illinois at Urbana graduates account for 10.6% of suburban teachers with advanced degrees. Over 85% of U of I at Urbana's metropolitan area advanced degree graduates teach in the suburbs. There are more urban and private institutions supplying teachers with advanced degrees to the suburbs than is the case at the baccalaureate level. It is also evident that institutions with significant percentages of minority enrollments play a larger role in granting advanced degrees to suburban teachers. Chicago State and Governor's State Universities supply larger relative percentages of teachers with advanced degrees to the suburbs (3.7% and 3.0% respectively) than is the case for their baccalaureate graduates. It is still true, however, that the institutions with lower percentages of minority enrollment have larger percentages of their metropolitan area graduates teaching in the suburbs.

Most of the suburban graduates from the institutions listed in Table 181 teach in suburban Cook County. On the other hand, McHenry and Will counties receive negligible percentages of graduates from some of these institutions. Northern Illinois, however, appears to be a significant feeder institution for each county's population of teachers with advanced degrees, supplying between 16.3% and 42.5% of each county's population of such teachers.

Data from individual suburban districts bears out findings at the county level. Northern Illinois and U of I at Urbana granted advanced degrees to significant numbers of teachers in virtually all the districts, regardless, it appears, of the percentage of low-income high school students. More graduates from Chicago State are represented in low-income Cook County districts than anywhere else. Advanced degree holders from Northeastern teach in eight of the highest-income districts and seven of the 10 lowest income districts, and they make up between .7 and 10.0% of each district's faculty. The income level of students does not appear to have any striking effect on the number of teachers employed with advanced degrees from particular institutions. The graduates from the institutions listed in Table 181 are more spread out among districts than is the case for baccalaureate degree holders from these institutions.

Virtually all-white suburban districts are less likely to employ teachers with graduate degrees from city institutions. Advanced degree holders from Chicago State appear in only three of the 10 most white districts. Advanced degree holders from Northeastern teach in two of these districts. On the other hand, graduates from Northern Illinois University teach in seven of these districts and form between 7.9% and 33.3% of each district's faculty. U of I at Urbana, Illinois State University, and Governor's State University graduates also teach in at least half of all the districts with 99%-100% white student enrollment. All these institutions are located in the outlying suburbs or downstate. While Governor's State has a 20.3% minority enrollment, Northern, U of I at Urbana, and Illinois State have minority enrollments of 7% or less.

Faculty teaching in suburban high school districts with the largest percentages minority students received their advanced degrees from more of the feeder institutions than the districts with low percentages of minority students. Advanced degree holders from Chicago State teach in seven of the 10 districts with large minority enrollments, though they account for between .6% and 15.4% of each district's faculty. Graduates from Northeastern teach in seven of the 10 districts listed, but account for relatively small percentages of each district's faculty. It also appears that advanced degree holders from private, urban institutions-Northwestern, University of Chicago, DePaul, Roosevelt, and Loyola-teach in many of the districts with the highest percentage of minority students. Teachers holding advanced degrees from these institutions, however, seldom form a large percentage of any district's faculty. The institution with the most representation among high-percentage minority student districts is Northern Illinois. Graduates from Northern Illinois account for up to 25.8% of one of these districts' faculty with advanced degrees. University of Illinois at Urbana graduates also teach in all 10 of the districts listed. Illinois State graduates teach in nine of these districts, and Governor's State graduates teach in seven.

The patterns in suburban districts are complex. The percentage of teachers holding advanced degrees varies a great deal, regardless of the district's percentage of low-income students. The districts with the highest percentage of minority students tend to have relatively more faculty with advanced degrees. Larger districts also have relatively more of such teachers. One of the districts with the largest percentage of minority student enrollment, Thornton Township High School District in Cook County, has 79% of its teachers holding advanced degrees. The location of teacher-training institutions and percentage of minority enrollment of such institutions is related to where its graduates teach. On the whole, however, the same institutions granting significant numbers of advanced degrees to city teachers also grant significant numbers of advanced degrees to suburban teachers. The data suggest that teacher-training institutions feeding teachers with advanced degrees to the Chicago school system send a higher fraction of these graduates to the suburbs than their B.A. teachers. However, this may partly reflect that fewer Chicago public school teachers hold advanced degrees.

The largest numbers of suburban teachers holding advanced degrees receive these degrees from suburban, downstate, or urban private institutions with smaller percentages of minority enrollments. Few of these graduates go to the city system.

Hiring Patterns: Is the pattern the Same in the Last Five Years?

An analysis of in-district years experience for city and suburban teachers suggests that, on the whole, these teachers have been receiving their baccalaureate and advanced degrees from the feeder institutions previously listed for the past five years or more. The channeling process is not changing.

Overall, very few teachers have been hired by the Chicago public school system in the past five years. Only between .1% and .6% of all Chicago high school teachers were newly hired each year between 1978 and 1983, compared with peaks of between 6.3% and 10.4% hired each year in the years 1965-1971. Over the past five years, none of the large teacher-training institutions supplied significant numbers of graduates into the Chicago high school system. In fact, 98.5% of all Chicago high school teachers have been on the job in the district for over five years. While Chicago State University has supplied graduates every year for the past five, the total numbers are too small to have a significant impact. The Chicago system has been in fiscal crisis for the last five years and is unlikely to have funds for hiring for some years to come. Its staff is locked in and threatened by recurring strikes and cutbacks.

At the advanced degree level, a disproportionately small number of teachers with advanced degrees have been hired by the Chicago public school system in recent years. Over 99% of all Chicago public high school teachers with advanced degrees have been teaching in the district for over five years. This suggests that the Chicago public school system is hiring slightly more teachers without advanced degrees than it has in the past.

The number of young suburban high school teachers with five or fewer years experience in the district is much greater than for

Chicago. There appear to be no large changes in the number of teachers hired from the largest teacher-training institutions in the past five years. The number of new teachers hired appears constant. The larger number of suburban teachers hired reflects less financial stringency than faced by the Chicago public school system.

At the baccalaureate level, 78.5% of all suburban high school teachers have been teaching in their districts for over five years. Between 4.1% and 4.7% of the total suburban teacher population was newly hired each of the past five years. For most of the large teacher-training institutions, the percentage of the institutions' total suburban graduates hired each year for the past five closely follows the overall suburban pattern. For example, 4.2% of all suburban teachers were newly hired during the 1981-82 academic year; 4.4% of Eastern University's graduates teaching in the suburbs were hired in that same year. There are, however, some notable exceptions to this pattern. More UI-Chicago graduates have entered the suburban system in the past five years compared with the institution's total suburban teacher-graduates. Only 34.5% of UI-Chicago graduates have been teaching in the suburbs for more than 10 years. On the other hand, graduates from Northwestern, DePaul, Northern Illinois, and Illinois State Universities are more likely to have ten or more years of experience. The percentages of teachers hired from these institutions in the past five years as a percentage of these institutions' total suburban teacher-graduates has declined somewhat.

At the advanced degree level, the number of teachers holding advanced degrees who were hired has remained fairly constant. For each institution, from year to year, the percentage of that institution's total teaching graduates hired is variable, though it is usually very close to the percentage hired for the entire system. The only institution experiencing a steady decline in the number of teachers hired as a percentage of its total suburban contribution over the past five years is Northern Illinois University. Close to 3% of Northern's total suburban advanced degree holders were hired in 1977-78 compared with .8% for 1982-83. On the whole, at the advanced degree level, the rate of hires has remained constant for the past five years.

Selectivity of Feeder Teacher-Training Institutions

Because all teacher-training institutions, like all institutions, may be more or less selective, it is possible that channeling of teacher-graduates from specific institutions to areas in and around Chicago affects the education of metropolitan area students. Table 182 lists the feeder institutions to the Chicago metropolitan area along with the mean ACT scores of their students in three groups: most selective, selective, and least selective. Rankings of selectivity are based on earlier findings in this report (see Chapter 4).

TABLE 182

SELECTIVITY OF TEACHER-TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

Institution	ACT Score
Most Selective:	
Northwestern	29
University of Chicago	28
University of Illinois at Urbana	26
2. Selective	
UI-Chicago	N/A
Illinois Institute of Technology	24
DePaul	23
Loyola	22
Roosevelt	22
Illinois State University	22
Northern Illinois University	21
Southern Illinois	21
Eastern Illinois University	20
Western Illinos UniversityY	19
3. Least Selective	
Northeastern Illinois	14
Chicago State	13

It is clear from Table 182 that at the baccalaureate level, suburban high schools have more faculty from selective institutions than Chicago high schools. Of the 10 feeder institutions to the suburban area, two--University of Illinois at Urbana and Northwestern--are categorized as most selective. Graduates from these two institutions account for 10.5% of all suburban teachers. Seven of the suburban feeder institutions fall in the selective category. Graduates from the least selective institutions account for 2.8% of all suburban high school teachers. On the other hand, 22.2% of Chicago high school teachers received their baccalaureate degrees from Chicago State or Northeastern.

The average ACT scores show only the selectivity of the entire student body, not the education majors separately. Barbara Carter, Dean of the Chicago State University School of Education, expressed the opinion that students in the education program showed higher academic achievement levels than the overall university student body. Though she could not provide test score data since many of the students are older and not required to take the ACT test, she pointed to a 1983 North Central Association evaluation study that described the education program as "the status college" at Chicago State. She also said that education majors had higher than average grade levels within the University (Interview with Dean Carter, Sept. 10, 1984).

A larger percentage of Chicago teachers received their advanced degrees from the least selective institutions than is the case for the suburbs. Over 30% of all Chicago teachers received their advanced degrees from Chicago State or Northeastern; 7% of suburban teachers holding advanced degrees received them from these least selective institutions. Eighteen percent of suburban teachers received their advanced degrees from highly selective institutions compared with 13.1% of Chicago teachers. The remaining Illinois institutions listed are categorized as selective.

It is clear, overall, that Chicago public high schools have larger percentages of teachers from the least selective institutions. Over one-fifth of all Chicago high school teachers hold baccalaureate degrees from the least selective institutions. It is likely, though not documented in this study, that this is a terminal degree for at least some of these teachers. At the advanced degree level, the gap, in percentage terms, between city and suburban teachers with degrees from highly selective institutions narrows. Of all Chicago teachers, however, only two-fifths hold advanced degrees. Of these two-fifths, over one-third received degrees from least selective institutions. The Chicago public schools, which serve the great majority of high schools with high concentrations of low achieving students, rely much more heavily than any suburban districts on teachers trained at the area's least competitive universities. Since we know that teachers not only influence the preparation of students but also their decisions about whether to attend college and what colleges to consider, it is clear that the existing distribution of teachers tend to perpetuate separate and unequal patterns of higher education. resave

CHAPTER 16

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has documented a comprehensive system of educational inequality in metropolitan Chicago extending from the elementary and secondary schools through the community colleges and into the universities. Minority students rely on the least adequate high schools, experience extremely high dropout rates, enter the least adequate community colleges, seldom transfer to four-year colleges, rely on the least selective four-year institutions and have very low rates of college completion. The city high schools, in turn, draw their teachers most often from the same noncompetitive colleges minority students are channeled into. These teachers and counselors strongly affect the next generation of Chicago's black and Latino students, both in terms of their academic preparation and their decisions about college enrollment. It is a fully developed cycle of inequality.

The system of inequality and educational channeling is rooted in many institutional arrangements and practices. We found nothing to suggest that the problems are curing themselves. In fact, the decline in the number and proportion of black students receiving B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees in both Chicago and the suburbs since the mid-70s suggests that things are getting worse.

In reflecting on the mass of data we have assembled, it is apparent that there are major issues reaching beyond the educational system that help shape the patterns observed here, issues that policy makers should keep in mind. The system of educational stratification is built, to a considerable extent, on residential separation of black, Latino and white communities into parts of the metropolitan region with different local governments and with very different resources that are served by unequal educational institutions. This residential segregation is projected into a fragmented educational system with 86 different residentially based high school systems and more than a dozen different community college districts. Although our research and recommendations deal with the role of the educational institutions in the process of stratification it is important to keep in mind that civil rights, housing, and economic policies that would change some of the underlying forces that produce geographic separation would affect patterns of educational access as well.

The educational access issues this report addresses are critical to the future of individuals, communities, and the entire metropolitan area. College education determines careers, economic and social status, and the development of leadership for our society. As the economy changes and the job opportunities for people without advanced education shrink and increasingly become dead-end in nature, the consequences multiply. In the eighties, in the Chicago area, for example, the relative economic position of college graduates has improved further while that of high school dropouts has become even worse (Cook, Jencks, et al., 1984).

The social and economic consequences of the system for blacks and Latinos deserve the most urgent attention. Students from their communities, which now account for the vast majority of school-age children in the city and a rapidly growing fraction of the entire metropolitan area's students, are rarely completing college. This perpetuates inequality on many dimensions and weakens the belief in equal opportunity in the minority community. From an economic standpoint it means that a large fraction of the area's future labor force will lack critical skills when the predicted labor shortage begins to develop in the 1990s.

A wide variety of policies and practices has created and sustained the inequalities in higher education. An equally wide array of issues must be considered in any attempt to correct them. We believe that the following recommendations will provide a useful starting point for the State Senate Committee on Higher education and other policymakers and citizens concerned about these very serious social and educational inequalities.

All area colleges and universities, including our own, need to review the implications of their own practices and renew a commitment to access that eroded in the seventies and eighties. There is a need to assess and publicize existing positive programs that deserve expansion. If we wish to foster equal opportunity higher education must work to heal rather than to perpetuate the transmission of unequal chances from one generation to the next through the educational system. Recommendations fall under the following headings: High School Preparation, The Transition to College, Financial Aid, Education in Community Colleges, Transfer to Four-Year Institutions, and Improving the Performance of Public and Private Universities. The problems so apparent in our report have many causes and a wide range of efforts will be necessary to increase access.

Recommendations

High School Preparation

All students in metropolitan Chicago must have real access to a high school where there is a serious college preparatory program. The present system, which denies essential elements of college preparation to many low-income minority students, must not be continued.

Curriculum

No student should be mandatorily assigned to any school not offering a full set of English, science, math, and foreign language programs appropriate for pre-collegiate education. These courses must not only be offered, but taught at a performance level appropriate to the grade of the student.

1) Students who would otherwise attend schools without such courses should be informed of the absence of these programs and they and their families offered full, timely, and intelligible information about how they can transfer to schools that offers such programs
2) To the extent possible, a core college preparatory curriculum staffed with teachers with appropriate educational backgrounds should be offered in each comprehensive high school
3) transportation should be provided without cost to students who transfer to obtain access to a college preparatory program
4) given the extreme disparity between educational levels in city and suburban high schools, every effort should be made to develop a system of transfers to suburban schools, perhaps modeled on systems now in place in St. Louis, Indianapolis, Louisville and other cities
    a) The Chicago School Board should actively pursue voluntary cooperation in such a plan, which would include metro magnet schools in Chicago
    b) The State Board of Education should play a leadership role in developing policies and legislation that would create such access.
    c) If a special state scientific school is to be built in the metropolitan area, as suggested by Governor Thompson, it should be constructed near the Loop, as a magnet accessible to the whole area, rather than in the far Western suburbs.

Staffing

The Chicago Public Schools should be provided with additional resources by the state goverment to hire the teachers essential to operate college preparatory curricula in the high schools. In recruiting and selecting these teachers, the city school system should actively seek faculty members educated in the state's more selective colleges and universities and should plan to meet the student-teacher ratios and level of advanced degree training found in the suburbs.

Fiscal Stability

The State government should provide a sound financial base for public education in Chicago. Since the 1979 financial collapse of the district there has been a sharp reduction in educational personnel and state aid in constant-value dollars. Until the financial dilemma is resolved the prospects for any major educational reforms within the city are very limited and the costs of continual instability and cutbacks will be imposed.

Requirements

The state government and the city school board should exercise considerble care in simply raising high school requirements for all students without providing appropriate resources and time for adjustments within the educational system. The result could be simply an increase in an already staggering level of dropouts. Improving college preparatory courses is a separate issue.

Counseling

High school counselors and teachers have a very large effect on the plans of minority students, who often have inadequate information about preparation for college and their choices among colleges. Counseling, testing, and financial aid application assistance should be expanded in the schools, particularly in inner city schools. More counselors should be employed, they should be recruited from a wider range of college backgrounds, and they should be given training and time to work on college selection and scholarship planning. Special efforts should be made to assure that all students have an opportunity to take the critical college entrance tests. Those from poor families should have their fees paid for by the school district. Counselors and teachers must make certain that students file the necessary financial aid applications before the key deadlines. The counseling problem is most extreme in the case of Hispanic students; the surveys we have studied show that

Latino students have very little information about their college choices and often cannot make informed plans and decisions. More counselors who are Hispanic or specially trained to understand and deal with the problems of Latino students are needed promptly.

School-College Bridge Programs

It is very important to identify early and provide sustained programs to aid students who are capable of college work but live in areas where they are almost certain not to receive the necessary preparation in key skills in their late elementary and secondary school years. There are several small programs in the Chicago area that do this quite successfully, including the Midtown Center program, which has emphasized training Hispanic students for Engineering programs, the PEP program at the University of Chicago, and others. They have succeeded in training students from poor neighborhoods for entrance into highly selective college programs. Chicago State University is initiating programs for pre-collegiate students. The best of these programs show what some of the important elements should be. The programs should start early, probably before high school, if possible. They should offer serious weekly courses and special intense summer programs. They should involve the same students over a long period of time and perhaps make use of other approaches in addition to academic programs, such as athletic activities. They should help students making the transition to more adequate high schools or to college.

Colleges, voluntary agencies and groups, public school administrators, and state and federal education programs could all play a valuable role in this process. Given the extreme stratification of the secondary system, colleges that have not been accessible to significant numbers of minority students should undertake the establishment of special programs. Federal and state funding agencies should encourage and support such efforts.

Financial Aid Policy Changes

The single most important reason black students in Illinois give for dropping out of college is money. For many minority and low income students, this is also a very important reason that they attend community colleges rather than four-year colleges. The financial aid system as it now operates creates many barriers to college attendance by low-income and minority students.

The most basic problem is the dramatic cut in the real resources available per student in the state scholarship program and the failure of the federal Pell Grant program to keep up with the increasing cost of college. There must be more adequate funding in these systems or access to college will diminish and there will be destructive fighting between the various forms of colleges over limited resources, with the private colleges insisting on much larger grants to their students at the expense of public college students in order to provide real choice and the public colleges answering that spending scarce funds for fewer and higher-income students in this way simply denies access to lower income students. A major increase in funds in essential if this dilemma is to be resolved. The dramatic recent decline in enrollment in the Chicago City College system may be a sign that the pinch at the bottom of the economic spectrum has become impossible and that access is severely diminishing.

There should be a full-scale review of the Illinois State Scholarship program, examining the following possible policy changes:

1) automatic provision of full tuition and fees scholarships at state institutions for students from families below the poverty level meeting admissions standards and making satisfactory progress toward degrees
2) ending of the assumed student contribution when students reside in neighborhoods where the teenage unemployment level exceeds 30 percent
3) adding the cost of books and public transportation to tuition and fees in calculating the college budget
4) not counting welfare income that comes to a college age student but is given to the family as the student's personal income in calculating the college scholarship need
5) ending the process of using an early application cutoff date as a mechanism for rationing aid since this works against low income students unable to know their plans until later in the year--random selection of recipients throughout the year would be more equitable
6) making all part-time low-income students eligible for aid
7) requiring all Illinois students not taking ACT and SAT test but planning to attend college to fill out a financial aid form during their senior year in high school. Otherwise students planning to attend selective colleges and having more family income obtain easier access to the financial aid system
8) conditioning increases to private school students on development of a plan for private schools to increase their

of institutional resources to transfer preparation, part-time enrollment, and institutional scholarships.

Community College Curriculum

Although community colleges have many important functions they are extremely important as the only real access to college degrees for a great many students who are excluded from four-year institutions by financial need, inferior high school preparation, failure to take achievement tests, and other reasons. It is essential that the community colleges offer serious college level preparation for transfer that is equivalent to courses offered in the first two years of four-year colleges. It is particularly urgent that such preparation be made available to the large number of students in the Chicago City Colleges.

There is clearly ample talent in the City College system to develop and staff an excellent college level curriculum. Immediate steps could include the following:

1) clearly labeling courses that will transfer and will be offered on a serious collegiate level, perhaps accompanied by initial screening of students to put those clearly unprepared into a remedial programs for as long as may be necessary.
2) offering these courses in spite of enrollment sizes
3) initiating this program immediately on at least one campus--Loop would be the logical first site because of its accessibility to all parts of the city and its success in drawing students from more neighborhoods than the other campuses
4) issuing catalogs specific to each campus clearly indicating both the college level transfer cousres and those courses that will not transfer
5) advising students planning to complete a B.A. attending campuses without genuine academic programs to transfer to other campuses

Counseling and Transfer Advising

Although community colleges state-wide have an extraordinarily high rate of attrition among students who enter planning to work for B.A. degrees, counseling has not been adequately supported. In the City Colleges, where the students have the least success and arrive with very serious educational problems, the counseling effort is crucial but is assumed to be handled primarily on a part-time basis by regular faculty members without special training. Obviously, this system is not working. The following changes might be helpful:

1) publication of courses that community college students who hope to transfer should complete in high school
2) initial testing and counseling of students into clearly labeled college or remedial courses according to their proficiency in subject matter areas
3) a regular computerized monitoring system which would warn students if they were not on track for a successful transfer
4) creation of a transfer center on each campus that could provide students with answers to specific questions, updates on transfer requirements and transferability of particular courses to given campuses, assistance in early filing for financial aid, and encouragement to students who could successfully transfer
5) regular comparison of the college transfer courses with comparable courses at the major transfer receiving institutions to be certain that students will be prepared for next courses in the sequences
6) retraining or recruitment of faculty to staff important transfer courses not currently offered on particular campuses
7) creation of a faculty committee to review and exercise continuing oversight on the transfer curriculum and counseling on each campus

Facilitating Transfers from Community Colleges

In addition to the educational upgrading and strengthening of counseling on individual campuses there are a number of other steps that could increase the possibility of successful transfers.

1) articulation agreements between community colleges, all parts of the public university systems and cooperating private colleges should be negotiated to end the chaotic and unpredictable nature of course credit transfer and to insure standards at the transfer-sending institutions. The state legislature should direct the public institutions to develop statewide systems of common course numbering as some other states have, so that students anywhere would easily know the level at which a course would operate and the nature of equivalent courses at other institutions
2) creation of an ongoing credit information system accessible through computer terminals in the transfer centers at the community colleges enabling a student to know

immediately the extent to which he was meeting the requirements of the receiving institutions

3) regular schedules of campus visits by advisors from receiving institutions. Students attending community colleges could be asked where they wished to transfer and be automatically scheduled for appointments with the proper officials
4) creation of special scholarship programs for community college students wishing to transfer to four-year institutions
5) faculty exhanges between sending and receiving colleges.

Permitting Initial Enrollment across Community College District Lines

At the present time different community college systems have very different results in succesfully preparing students for transfer to selective institutions. Unfortunately most minority and low income students do not have access to the more successful community colleges with more competitive student bodies. Part of this problem is simply a result of the sheer scale of racial segregation but another part is the artificial barrier of out-of-district tuition. This system, which can raise the tuition cost by 200% or more is an especially serious barrier for students without financial resources. It tends to perpetuate segregation in the state with the most segregated junior college system.

A free transfer policy would make colleges that offer better transfer preparation available to students who could not otherwise attend. It would also permit some of the many suburbanites who work in the city to take useful courses near work without paying high tuition. It would encourage the development of some more specialized programs that could not draw sufficient students within a single community college district but could provide a special opportunity for the entire metropolitan Chicago area.

Transfers would be small in number as they have been in virtually all free transfer programs in high schools. Even within the city, where there are no formal barriers, community college attendance is highly localized. To transfer, a student would have to find out about other colleges, apply to them for admission, arrange transportation in a mass transit system not designed for reverse commuting, and decide to go to a school where he would be much less likely to already have friends. Illinois state law and regulations should be altered to require, as a condition for receipt of state aid, that community colleges admit any student within their metropolitan area at tuition charged for local residents. If it is impossible to adopt this general rule there should at least be provision for free transfer by any student to any college where his race is in a minority, a common desegregation requirement.

Responsibility of B.A. Granting Institutions

Although the great majority of nonwhite students never make it to four-year colleges, ending their education during high school or community college, the four-year colleges and universities have a very strong responsibility. As finances have tightened, civil rights enforcement by the federal government has declined and interest has turned from the goal of more equality to that of more demanding standards, access for minority students has declined. The basic problem is that even if the colleges operated temporary programs to help open up their campuses to minority students, they now tend to assume that the problem of access is no longer serious or that someone else is taking care of it. This report's findings on the high schools and the junior colleges make it abundantly clear that this assumption is wrong. The students are still provided with educational experiences so unequal that unequal access to four-year colleges is certain without substantial efforts by the colleges themselves. This is particularly true among the most selective colleges, in which the smallest number of black and Hispanic students will be prepared to enter. The notable decline in access for black students to the two leading research universities within Chicago's boundaries--the University of Chicago and the University of Illinois at Chicago, clearly illustrates the problem. Northwestern's success, on the other hand, in expanding its black student body shows that positive efforts can make a major difference, even in the institution with the most selective undergraduate student body in the state. Colleges and Universities should develop programs including the following steps:

1) pre-college training programs for students from local high schools on each campus
2) reversal of state policies ending remedial programs at universities in view of their obvious consequences of reinforcing segregation and greatly diminishing the likelihood that the excluded students will ever receive B.A. degrees
3) special scholarship and recruitment programs for black and Hispanic students and community college transfer students

4) analysis of the programs that enable colleges such as Roosevelt University to attract and graduate large numbers of minority students, and efforts tc apply the lessons elsewhere
5) helping the first substantial generation of minority students on many campuses to feel welcome and to succeed by special efforts to provide minority counselors, to recruit more minority faculty members, and to encourage research and teaching addressing issues of special concern to the minority community
6) adjustments to financial aid formulas to take consideration of the very weak educational background and the great personal and community poverty faced by many minority students providing more time for degree completion
7) creation of close relationships between individual universities and junior college campuses and development of arrangements for junior college students to take one or two courses on the university campus at sharply reduced tuition (developing cooperative efforts between Roosevelt and Loop College are a positive example)
8) development of summer school institutes to prepare potential transfer students for successful work on the new campuses
9) negotiation of ongoing inter-system relationships of the sort being explored in Boston, New York City, and Los Angeles
10) training and retraining for junior college teachers
11) serious examination of the racial impacts of increases in admission requirements.

Upgrading the Black Colleges

This study shows that the Chicago area has four segregated black colleges--Kennedy-King, Malcolm X, Olive-Harvey and Chicago State University--which are extremely important to the black students of Illinois but rank low in selectivity, course offerings, transfers, and completion rates. No matter what is done to modify the channeling processes that lead so many black students to enter these schools, these campuses will remain critical to black students.

During the past decade the states operating historically black public colleges in the Southern and Border states have been under legal obligation to upgrade educational offerings on these campuses and state plans have been developed to do that. The various Illinois black campuses should be directed by the state legislature to undertake major institutional self-studies to show conditions necessary for improvement and to develop plans to serve not only existing students but also students from many nearby Hispanic and white neighborhoods. At the same time the State Board of Higher Education or a special state commission should be directed to review these schools and to devise plans for their upgrading, including the location of special educational programs on those campuses not available elsewhere. The State of Illinois is providing segregated and unequal higher education. It needs a plan for equal access and choice.

The Necessity of Action

This long and complex list of needed changes to make the higher education system function in a more equitable manner suggests a problem of surpassing difficulty and a set of issues that would require large resources to resolve. College officials, already troubled by many difficult challenges, are not eager to take on difficult assignments.

It is important not to reach the conclusion that the problems are simply insoluable and to give up on reform. The evidence clearly shows that access to college by minority students and other low income students did improve dramatically when there was a major effort in the 1960s and early 1970s. The constriction from the late 1970s to the present is a result, at least in part, of a shrinking commitment by national government, college officials, and the general public and shrinking resources available to address these needs. In the meantime, poverty has become more severe and widespread, a growing proportion of minority children are growing up in poor female-headed homes in poor communities with totally inadequate schools, real scholarship assistance is declining, and costs of college have risen very rapidly. Even if all of these trends were not superimposed on and intensified by racial separation and discrimination, there would be growing problems of access in American society. Racial concentration make them worse.

Given the broad forces working against access to higher education it is not surprising that there have been serious reverses in recent years. Perhaps the most extraordinary and encouraging finding however is the very strong belief that minority students still have in higher education and their continuing efforts to obtain access to the system. There are many steps, some of them quite modest in nature, that could increase the possibility of their realizing these dreams. As a system that is dedicated to opportunity and that draws support from the public because of its ability to open better futures for students seeking mobility in American society, higher education has a strong interest in increasing access for those now excluded. We urge policy makers and educational leaders to consider the problems disclosed by this report and act to make higher education a system that offers genuine opportunity for all.

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